Reading Shakespeare Through Collaboration
Agency, Authority and Textual Space in Shakespearean Drama

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by

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Abstract

While recent scholarship understands early modern play production as a collaborative process between multiple playhouse agents, the contributions of those stationers responsible for the rise of Shakespeare in print are often dismissed as acts of textual corruption. Particularly in the case of Shakespeare, who was not directly involved in the publication of his plays, the interaction of printers and publishers with his texts is central to the more inclusive understanding of the printing and publishing of Shakespeare in his time proposed in this dissertation. Each chapter explores largely neglected textual interactions between Shakespeare and his stationers in order to demonstrate how the group of play quartos discussed in it are products of thoroughly collaborative publishing ventures.

Examining collections of commercial drama in print produced by playwright and stationer partnerships in London between 1594-1632, my research shows that collaboration was a recurrent phenomenon in early modern dramatic publication and instrumental to Shakespeare's presentation in print. Key to this approach is my understanding of dramatic publications not simply as material artefacts but as complex textual spaces within which all agents, though not necessarily in the same place or at the same time, contributed in distinctive and significant ways to the production of Shakespeare's plays in print. Considering playtexts as the product of textual collaboration, the printing and the publication process become sites of textual production, rather than contamination by non-authorial agents. This thesis also offers a new methodology for identifying non-authorial intervention in early printed playbooks, positioning the work of such agents as integral to their textual and bibliographic make-up. The examples of playwright and stationer collaboration discussed in this thesis demonstrate a need for early modern studies, particularly studies of Shakespeare, to reconsider textual collaboration as more diverse, co-operative, and influential than envisioned by current scholarship.

For Marc

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Introduction

"Two households, both alike in dignity"
-*Romeo & Juliet,* Prologue

Recent studies acknowledge early modern play production as a collaborative process between multiple playhouse agents including scribes, actors, and playwrights. As a central figure in this collaborative environment, Shakespeare's interactions with these agents are recognised as influential in shaping the works we identify today as Shakespearean drama. If Shakespeare's plays had existed only on the stage then knowledge of the collaborations between Shakespeare and these other playhouse agents captured in his manuscripts would be sufficient for accessing his work as it was envisioned and performed. However, with no surviving manuscripts of Shakespeare's plays known to exist (with the exception of the Hand D portion of *Sir Thomas More*), our only access to Shakespeare's collaborative interactions with the stage are preserved in an entirely different medium, on the pages of the earliest printed editions of his work. As Julie Stone Peters reminds us, early modern drama "was understood to play itself out in two areas - on the stage and on the page" (8). While Shakespeare's plays were regularly seen in the playhouses of early modern London, their existence in print argues that they were also meant to be read.

Views of Shakespeare's engagement with the printing of his plays still focus, by and large, on his general disinterest in the medium of print.[1] With no prefaces, dedications, or other paratextual evidence suggesting Shakespeare's presence in the printing house for any of his dramatic publications, discussions of Shakespeare and print usually come to the conclusion that "in his role as playwright, Shakespeare had no obvious interest in the printed book" (Kastan "Book" 5). However, to limit Shakespeare's influence in the printing house to physical proximity makes no allowances for the collaborative process that culminated with the publication of a printed playbook.

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[1] Notable exceptions to this position are presented by Lukas Erne in *Shakespeare as a Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge University Press, 2003) and by Patrick Cheney in *Shakespeare's Literary Authorship* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

As a playhouse collaborator, Shakespeare contributed manuscripts that were revised, refined and expanded by himself and his fellow playhouse agents as part of a cumulative process of theatrical production. In the printing house, Shakespeare's plays were likewise shaped into a new medium by the collective contributions of another group of diverse agents: printers, compositors, publishers, booksellers, and correctors. Charged with the task of transmitting blotted theatrical papers into readable play *books*, these agents were also required to interpret, correct and emend their copies as part of the process of fashioning "textual" performances for reading audiences. Only after their active engagement with the text, often involving experimentation, innovation, experience and vision, were theatrical scripts turned into complex textual artefacts. In this way, while Shakespeare might never have set foot in a printing house, his writing is part of a collaborative transmission of his work into print that began with the publication of his first quarto and, it could be argued, continues to this day.

My dissertation explores this neglected textual collaboration between Shakespeare and the printing house in order to demonstrate how the particular play quartos discussed in it are actually the products of the collective agency of both their playwright and stationers. Examining collections of commercial drama in print produced by playwright and stationer partnerships in London between 1594 and 1632, this research shows that collaboration was a recurring practice in early modern dramatic publication and fundamental to Shakespeare's presentation in print. Key to this approach is my understanding of dramatic publications as complex textual spaces in which all agents contribute in distinctive and significant ways to the production and reproduction of Shakespeare's plays in print. In these inclusive spaces, the textual authority of Shakespeare and his printing house agents are considered as individual contributions as well as part of the collective process that culminated with the material text being handed down to us. As a result, the printing house and the printing process become locations of productive textual collaborations, providing a more accurate model of textual production with which to understand the origins and construction of Shakespeare's plays. The alternative model of collective agency discussed in this thesis will demonstrate a need for early modern studies, particularly studies of Shakespeare, to reconsider textual collaboration as more diverse, co-operative, and dynamic than currently envisioned by scholars in these fields.

1. Shakespeare, Authorship, and Collaboration

Since A.W. Pollard's identification of a "causal relation" between "good" quartos, the 1623 Folio, and entry in the *Stationers' Register* in his *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos,* early printed editions have played an integral role in modern definitions of early modern authorship and collaboration (*Shakespeare Folios* 65). Focused on developing a more systematic approach to editing the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, researchers including Pollard, W.W. Greg, and R.B. McKerrow constructed scholarly editions from the earliest witnesses of early modern drama. The textual evidence which emerged from the rigorous approach of these "New Bibliographers" laid the foundations for the first editorial theories based upon bibliographic data drawn from early editions. This bibliographic rigour was linked to a clear editorial mission. "The aim of a critical edition", W.W. Greg explained, "should be to present the text, so far as the available evidence permits, in the form in which we may suppose that it would have stood in a fair copy, made by the author himself, of the work as he finally intended it" (*Editorial Problem* xii). In order to recover the author's intentions, Greg advised the editor to choose "as the basis of his own edition (as his copy-text, that is) the most 'authoritative' of the early prints, this being the one that on critical consideration appears likely to have least departed in wording, spelling, and punctuation from the author's manuscript" (*Editorial Problem* xii). The emphasis placed by Greg and other New Bibliographers on the primacy of playwright authority focused textual studies and editorial practice on recovering authorial intentions through a close scrutiny of all extant early editions. Standing between the bibliographer and the playwright's intentions were countless textual variants, what Fredson Bowers would memorably describe as a "veil of print", which if wiped away, would grant direct access to Shakespeare's plays as he envisioned them (*On Editing Shakespeare* 87). In short, printers became unwanted intruders who vandalised and corrupted the text of Shakespeare's plays through their "defective transmission" (Greg *Editorial Problem* xi). While the New Bibliography's approach was optimistic in terms of what it could do for Shakespeare and other early modern playwrights, its representation of printers and the printing process as detrimental to the creative product of the playwright established the oppositional "stage versus page" dichotomy that still affects modern studies of early modern drama.[2] This oppositional model set the stage for the author-centric focus of

[2] This position is still visible in current approaches to Shakespeare editorial practice. For example Gabriel Egan's book *The Struggle for Shakespeare's Text* is introduced with the opening statement "We know Shakespeare's writings only from imperfectly made early editions, from which editors struggle to remove errors" (inside cover).

some of the most influential theories of authorship and collaboration to shape Shakespeare studies over the next several decades.

While romantic notions of authorship were deconstructed by Roland Barthes and reconstructed socially as an "author function" by Foucault, the image of Shakespeare as "singular creative genius" remained a prominent feature in literary and textual criticism until the final decades of the twentieth century (Foucault 113; Montrose 92). The first major adjustment to this image was ushered in by the theory of revision. Emerging from three separate studies by Michael Warren, Steven Urkowitz and Peter Blayney on the differences between Q and F *King Lear,* which concluded that variant readings between the two texts could be best explained as Shakespeare's "deliberate rewriting" of his own play to express his "second thoughts", the theory of revision also qualified earlier theories about Shakespeare as the producer of "blot-less" papers by including him in the continuous creative process of play production (Wells *Division* 10, 18).[3] While this approach eventually led to the landmark publishing of two texts of *King Lear* in Oxford's *The Complete Works*, revision theory also engaged with emerging models of social production of texts and authorship by suggesting that Shakespeare considered and responded to the theatrical process of production and performance in his writing. However, revision theories, according to which every variant potentially represents one of Shakespeare's "second thoughts", left little room for printing house agency. In fact, revision theorists' emphasis on Shakespeare's textual authority within these multiple versions often looked with extreme scepticism on printing house agents. Descriptions of printing house contributions focusing on, for example "how much and what kind of printing house corruption can we expect in Folio *Lear*?" echoed the New Bibliography's assertion that Shakespeare's works were corrupted by their transmission into print (Taylor and Warren vii-viii). Shakespeare, in short was still largely a singular playhouse playwright.

Shakespearean and early modern authorship in general underwent a significant change as a result of the impact of Jeffrey Masten's book, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama.* Masten, like Foucault, was interested in how practice is informed by social and cultural discourses. Masten asserted that the production of texts was a "social process" that emerged out of a social and professional working environment "suffused with, [and] structured by collaborative textual practice"

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[3] Michael Warren "Quarto and Folio *King Lear* and the Interpretation of Albany and Edgar." *Shakespeare, Pattern of Excelling Nature.* Ed. David Bevington and Jay L. Halio. Newark: University of Delaware, 1978. 95-107; Steven Urkowitz *Shakespeare's Revision of* King Lear. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980; and Peter Blayney's *Texts of King Lear and Their Origins.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

(*Textual Intercourse* 3). A product of this environment, Masten believed that playwrights naturally collaborated with each other. As a result, Masten urged critics to "forego anachronistic attempts to divine the singular author of each scene, phrase, and word" and instead read texts as material representations of that collaboration (*Textual Intercourse* 7). For Masten the text was a space in which "different configurations of authorities" could be seen "constructing, re-forming and controlling texts and...constraining their interpretations" (*Textual Intercourse* 13).

While Masten suggests that early modern culture is innately collaborative, his focus is firmly on the playhouse as a collaborative environment. As a result, interactions with the printing house are either overlooked or repositioned to be read through theatrical practice.[4] Moreover, Masten favours a model of textual collaboration in which "the authorial voice is 'disperse(d)'" into a collective voice that eliminates individual authority altogether (*Textual Intercourse* 13). This approach is both extreme and, in a field that is organised by playwrights, impractical. I would also argue that it is ultimately inaccurate, for while all the contributions to the production of a play quarto are closely interrelated it is also possible to identify individual components as originating with individual agents. In other words, textual production is a collective process but each individual agent (or function) within it represents a distinctive source of and type of textual authority. For this reason, my dissertation reads textual authority from both perspectives.

Masten also argued that in order for such a pronounced change of perspective to take hold it was of prime importance that Shakespeare "*the* individual Author and the author of individuality" serve as the central location of this new understanding (*Textual Intercourse* 10). Noting that it is in the Shakespeare canon that "the Author, anachronistically applied, is most powerful and tenacious", Masten insightfully identified the field of Shakespeare Studies as both a challenge and an opportunity (*Textual Intercourse* 9-10). Many scholars heeded Masten's promise that "We thus have much to learn from a (re)consideration of collaboration in the texts of the Shakespeare canon"

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[4] For example, Walter Burre, publisher of *Knight of the Burning Pestle* is acknowledged as an agent in the production of the printed text. However, Masten makes little of Burre's contribution to its success, instead crediting Burre with determining a theatrical lineage for the play (*Textual Intercourse* 22). Masten's performance-based observation probably had less to do with Burre's publishing interests than with Masten trying to argue against the idea of the singular writer author. In another example, Humphrey Moseley's efforts to produce the Beaumont and Fletcher *Folio* are read through Masten's belief that the preliminaries of the *Folio* reveal collaborative relationships presented through a new fashion of "identify[ing] singular authors and organis[ing] volumes accordingly" (*Textual Intercourse* 125). Masten's need to read the lines of title pages and preliminaries as authorising playhouse collaboration only results in a reading of Moseley as inconsistent in his attempts to identify authorial origins, much like any reader of a quarto play, as a removed "witness" rather than collaborator (*Textual Intercourse* 125).

and took up his call from diverse angles (*Textual Intercourse* 10). Even some of his harshest detractors, including Brian Vickers, and palaeographers and textual scholars, like Grace Ioppolo, drawing perhaps from the furthest ends of the field of Shakespeare and textual studies, namely manuscript studies and computer generated stylometric analysis, re-examined the dynamics of collaboration in Shakespeare's plays.

In *Shakespeare Co-Author,* Vickers studied verbal parallels across large samples of early modern drama by Shakespeare and his contemporaries for the purpose of "reclaiming the appropriate parts for their original authors" (137).[5] Particularly interested in the parts belonging to Shakespeare, Vickers asserted that a better understanding of playwright collaboration would "sharpen our awareness of how Shakespeare normally wrote, and what effect the process of collaboration had on him and his fellow dramatists" (137). In addition to confirming George Peele's contributions to *Titus Andronicus,* Vickers identified some characteristics of how Shakespeare wrote with and in comparison to his fellow playwrights. Vickers also argued that "whether consciously or not, writers tend to reveal distinct preferences in the type of words that they use, and the frequency with which they draw on them", thus suggesting, that even in collaboration, Shakespeare is clearly identifiable amongst his peers (80). However, Vickers also observed anomalies within particular Shakespeare-authored sections where writing traits did not coincide with the playwright's preferred language patterns. To account for these "uncharacteristic results for Shakespeare's parts of these plays" Vickers suggested a second collaborative dynamic "by which writers collaborating on a play tend to adopt some elements of their partner's style" (118). Vickers's profile of Shakespearean collaboration points to a playwright agency that is simultaneously individual and co-operative, presenting a Shakespeare who had a distinctive style but who also interacted with and imitated other playwrights.

Grace Ioppolo's study of dramatic manuscripts similarly argued that playwrights worked within an "interconnected and circular theatrical world" (159). For Ioppolo, the play manuscript was the location and record of a circular collaborative process in which "authors returned to their texts, or texts were returned to their authors" (1). Still according to Ioppolo, theatrical manuscripts were also a record of Shakespeare's composition practices, as suggested, for example, by imprecise speech prefixes and the appearance of stage directions that are "vague", "generic", misplaced, or missing (174-79). Based on such examples in what we assume was the printer's copy of Q2 *Romeo*

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[5] See also Jonathan Hope *The Authorship of Shakespeare's Plays: A Socio-Linguistic Study.* Cambridge UP, 1994.

and Juliet, Ioppolo proposes that even though there is no direct evidence to prove that Shakespeare "supervised" the publication of his plays, his active attention to his manuscripts and his role as a sharer in the King's Men suggests that "he was certainly aware of what happened to [his] plays when printed" (175).

While both Vickers's and Ioppolo's methods focus on Shakespeare's collaboration in the process of play production, both models suggest that the play is produced in its entirety before leaving the playhouse, discounting the additional textual productions of meaning that occur in the transmission from script to printed text. They essentially disregard the fact that the very objects of their studies were produced in the equally collaborative and socialised environment of early modern printing houses. Lukas Erne's study, *Shakespeare as a Literary Dramatist* successfully challenged their approach. Erne argued that all early modern plays "had a double existence, one on the stage and one on the printed page" and that Shakespeare's plays were no different (*Literary Dramatist* 23). Examining particular "literary" qualities of speech prefixes and stage directions in editions of Shakespeare's plays, such as Q1 and Q2 *Romeo and Juliet,* which differed significantly in length, Erne determined that, when writing, Shakespeare was aware that his work would one day be read. Thus Erne concluded that in taking advantage of his lucrative position as playwright and shareholder in his company, Shakespeare "wrote with an awareness that much of it would not survive the play's preparations for the stage" and that longer, more literary texts "would have been particularly appreciated by readers" when read in print (Erne, *Literary Dramatist* 23, 227). In short, Erne expanded the model of Shakespeare authorship beyond the notion that "Shakespeare intended his words to be acted: to be heard, not read" to a Shakespeare who wrote with both the live audience and the reader in mind (Taylor, "General Introduction" *William Shakespeare: Textual Companion* 3). Erne went still further by suggesting that Shakespeare not only wrote for publication but also participated in the process. Considering patterns of Shakespearean publications, Erne determined that "Shakespeare and his fellows had a coherent strategy for trying to get his plays published approximately two years after they first reached the stage" (*Literary Dramatist* 26).

As a playwright mindful of how and when his plays reached the press, Erne offered a new approach to Shakespeare in print that would seem to anticipate my interest in playwright /stationer collaborations. However, while Erne envisaged a certain level of interaction between Shakespeare and printing house agents, he did not pay much attention to the latter. According to Erne, Shakespeare and the Chamberlain's Men determined what plays were published, when they would be published, and,

through "active attempt[s]...to superseded a "bad" quarto text with a "good" one", the quality of what was published as well (Erne, *Literary Dramatist* 82). The role of Shakespeare in this model is so extensive that it might be more accurate to call the printer's copy the player's copy. For Erne, Shakespeare's quartos were created to be read but what ultimately made them readable had nothing to do with what happened to them in the printing house. Once again, Erne's approach suggests that collaboration only occurred amongst theatrical agents. It does, however, regard Shakespeare's writing as compatible with the medium of print. As this dissertation will demonstrate in Chapter One, this co-operative relationship is inextricably associated with textual transmission and particularly prominent in the play quartos discussed in it.

As a result of the recent research into early modern authorship and collaboration discussed above, Shakespeare the dramatic playwright is now understood as a participant alongside other agents of performance in the development of theatrical products. As recent editions of *Timon of Athens, Henry VIII,* and *Sir Thomas More* attest, Shakespeare is now also accepted as a playwright who regularly collaborated with his contemporaries.[6] In addition, Shakespeare has started to be considered as an active participant in the emerging market of books and readers, which would contribute to his enduring legacy. In terms of collaboration, however, the printing house continues to be overlooked as a key setting for collaborative textual intervention with regards to the transmission of Shakespeare's plays into print. The work of the textual scholars, which I discuss below, is genuinely pioneering and has proved crucial to my own approach to Shakespeare's plays in print.

2. Shakespeare and His Stationers

The earliest studies of individual stationers emerged from the work of New Bibliographers whose interest in printing house practice put a human face to the agents responsible for the textual reproduction of early modern plays into print. These first profiles, driven by New Bibliography's efforts to remove all textual corruption from Shakespeare's plays, regularly presented the printing house as an obstacle to be overcome and their agents as instigators of textual interference. This attitude is exemplified by A.W. Pollard in his *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problems of the Transmission of His Text.* In his efforts to explain the diverse relations between the quartos

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[6] *The Life of Timon of Athens.* Ed. John Jowett. *Thomas Middleton The Collected Works* (2007)*; King Henry VIII (All Is True).* Ed. Gordon McMullan. Arden (2007); *Sir Thomas More.* Ed. John Jowett. Arden (2011).

of Shakespeare's plays and the 1623 Folio, Pollard also created the most lasting image of early modern stationers. Applying modern expectations of copyright and ownership to the function of the Stationers' Company, Pollard was appalled to discover that, when securing the rights to publish a play, neither the individual stationers nor the Company "were legally bound to show any consideration to authors" (*Pirates* xiii). As a result, Pollard saw every "bad" quarto as the product of "a needy printer ... earning his bit of bread by pirating a play" and supported by an entire industry focused on circumventing the rights of authors (*Pirates* 37). Vehemently passing judgement on stationers as desperate swashbuckling pirates and "impecunious copy-snatcher[s]", Pollard established a decisive correlation between bad quartos and bad printers (*Pirates* 40). Pollard's conclusions reinforced the playwright versus stationer dichotomy established in New Bibliography. Moreover, this position is still prevalent enough in modern textual narratives for Scott McMillin to observe that "the rogue publisher is like the lazy scribe, useful for answering the scholarly question of the moment" (15). Until quite recently, stationer studies continued to categorise the work of this group of textual agents only in relation to authorial intentions, thus positioning them as oppositional to the playwright's creative work.

D.F. McKenzie's redefinition of bibliography as a "discipline that studies texts as recorded forms, as well as the processes of their transmission, including their production and reception", was instrumental in expanding textual studies of printing house practice (*Sociology of Texts* 4). By considering printed playtexts as products of the "social processes of their transmission", McKenzie positioned all contributors "who produce his [the author's] texts and their meaning" as collaborators (*Sociology of Texts* 18). McKenzie's advocacy of a "sociology of texts" led to a reconsideration of the professional relationship between early modern playwrights and their stationers (*Sociology of Texts* 5). In an earlier article entitled "Printers of the Mind", McKenzie further asserted that bibliographers would need to go beyond the study of individual texts to considering the practices of whole printing houses if they were to understand the intricacies of textual transmission more fully.[7] Expanding the scholarly focus from texts to whole outputs and printing houses led to a string of studies which focused on understanding the work of individual stationers who printed and published early modern drama.

Following the New Bibliography's focus on Shakespeare, textual studies heeded McKenzie's advice and produced studies of the house practices of Shakespeare printers,

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[7] See especially 14, 16, and 53-60.

including John Busby, Thomas Creede, Thomas Pavier, John Danter, and Nicholas Okes, thus creating what might best be described as a collection of bibliographic biographies.[8] Gathering together all the available information about a printer's type, production, and publication history, this research constructed profiles of printing house practice through detailed bibliographic analysis of a printer's publication output. Works like Akihiro Yamada's study, *Thomas Creede: Printer to Shakespeare and his Contemporaries,* which provides "a comprehensive picture of Thomas Creede's printing shop", set a clear purpose for printer studies as providing a professional narrative of a printer derived from a study of his texts (xi).

These profiles have made significant contributions to restoring the reputations of many printers. For example John Busby for his role in publishing bad quartos of *Henry V, The Merry Wives of Windsor,* and *King Lear* was described as a "notorious pirate" by C.H. Herford and "never more than a second rate publisher" by Greg but is found by Gerald Johnson to be "a vital link in the transmission of texts" (Herford 233; Greg "Two John Busby's" 83; Johnson 14). New Bibliographers were also particularly critical of John Danter for his printing of the "bad" first quarto of *Romeo and Juliet,* with Greg describing Danter's career as "nothing but a record of piracy and secret printing" (*Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements* 130). However, through careful reexamining of the records of the Stationers' Company court records, Chiaki Hanabusa concluded that there was "no decisive evidence" that Danter was a habitually illicit printer (334). Moreover, Hanabusa's study of Danter's active record of printing commercial drama revealed him to be "the most ardent printer in the manufacturing of playbooks in 1594" (Hanabusa 337). Generally, this line of bibliographical inquiry has been instrumental, at least to some extent, in reviving the reputations of many of Shakespeare's printers. Other cases, such as Peter Blayney's study of the early years of Nicholas Okes's career, *The Texts of King Lear and its Origins* have further entrenched their printers in reputations of corruption and poor printing.[9] Nevertheless, by demonstrating that bibliographic analysis of a printer's output could clarify printing house practices and the transmission of particular texts, these studies illuminated the complex process involved in the printing of early modern drama.

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[8] See, for example, Gerald, D. Johnson "John Busby and the Stationers' Trade, 1590-1612" *The Library.* 7.1(1985): 1-15 and "Thomas Pavier, Publisher, 1600-25." *The Library* 14.1 (1992):12-15. Akihiro Yamada *Thomas Creede: Printer to Shakespeare and his Contemporaries.* Tokyo: Meisei UP, 1994.; and Chiaki Hanabusa "John Danter's Play Quartos: A Bibliographical and Textual Analysis." Diss. The Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham, 2000.

[9] Okes's career will be considered further in Chapter Two.

While the work of Johnson, Yamada, Blayney, and others significantly increased our knowledge of the mechanical process of printing Shakespeare's plays, it was not until Peter Blayney's "The Publication of Playbooks" that the transmission of Shakespeare's plays into print started to be understood as more than a mechanised reproduction of theatrical manuscripts. Following the story of a hypothetical publisher, Blayney highlighted for the first time the process of publishing an early modern dramatic text from acquisition of copy through to printing and distribution. Blayney's work has since become a standard reference in the study of early modern dramatic publications and has established many accepted 'rules' such as that printed plays were only a small part of overall printing output, that a missing entry in the *Stationers' Register* did not equal a pirated copy, and that a publisher did not hope to make a significant profit on a printed play unless it went to a second edition ("Publication" 385, 403, 389).[10]

"Publication" became particularly important to studies of textual transmission because Blayney's description attributed an unprecedented amount of authority to publishers.[11] Prior to Blayney's essay, studies of stationers like those in the examples above focused exclusively on printers as the primary agents of play production.[12] Publishers, on the other hand, were basically understood as sellers for printer's products.[13] Blayney confirmed that "if we want to investigate the text of a play - the relationship between what the typesetter saw in the manuscript and what appears on the printed page we need to study the printer" ("Publication" 391). At the same time, Blayney also asserted that "if our concern is the source of the manuscript, the reasons why *that* play was published *then,* or the supposed attitude of the players or playwright to the fact of publication, we must focus not on the printer but on the publisher" ("Publication" 391). In short, Blayney clarified the roles of printing house agents so that publishers were now understood as the source of financial investment and marketing

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[10] Blayney's assertion that playbooks were not a source of profit for early modern stationers was challenged by Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser "The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56.1, Spring 2005 (2005): 1-32. Print. See also Lukas Erne's "The Popularity of Shakespeare in Print" *Shakespeare Survey 62*. 2009. 12-29.

[11] "Publisher" in this dissertation is understood to be the modern description of the agent performing the duties of identifying and procuring a playtext and orchestrating its publication through the press.

[12] Despite Edward Arber's announcement in his introduction to the *Stationers' Register* that "the English Printer and the English Publisher must take their due places in the national estimation", textual studies do not take interest in publishers with the same rigor as printer/compositor studies until after Blayney (Arber I, xiii).

[13] For example in his study of the First Folio, Charlton Hinman argued that his study focused on William Jaggard rather than Ed Blount because Blount "was only a publisher" (*Printing and Proofreading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* Vol 1., 24).

while printers started to be held responsible "only for the quality of the printing" ("Publication" 391). Distinguishing between the roles of printing house agents in this way, Blayney repositioned publishers as a central, motivating force for dramatic publication and as instrumental to the development of Shakespeare in print.

The impact of Blayney's "Publication" is evident in the visible shift from printers to publishers in the textual studies that followed. Most prominently, Zachary Lesser's *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication* follows Blayney's example by concentrating on the activities of publishers of commercial drama. Lesser identified publishers as first readers whose job was "not just to read texts but to predict how others will read them" (*Renaissance* 8). Examining collections or "repertoires" of dramatic and non-dramatic texts produced by the same publisher, Lesser identified thematic patterns across such publisher repertoires that, when read in historical and geographical contexts, revealed publication strategies aimed at engaging the interests of particular readerships. Lesser asserted that identifying such "niche markets" revealed both "how they[publishers] themselves read the play and how they hoped, and attempted to determine, that their customers would read it as well" (*Renaissance* 3). Publishers, according to Lesser, were not only crucial to the creation of the canon of printed plays but they were also the first critical interpreters of early modern drama. Moreover, by showing how "critical attention to publishers can transform our understandings of familiar plays", Lesser's "literary critical" readings offered important examples of how textual studies could inform literary understandings of early modern drama (*Renaissance* 25, 17).

With publishers now considered active agents of textual transmission, scholars started to focus more consistently on textual features often associated with the task of presenting a book to its readers, including title pages, dedications, and epistles which we now refer to collectively as the "paratext" (Genette *Paratexts* 1-2). Taking inspiration from Gerard Genette's definition and vision of paratexts as the pivotal "threshold" from which a reader chooses to access or pass over a text (*Paratexts* 2), studies such as Lesser's and also those by David Bergeron, Douglas Brooks and Tiffany Stern have explored how stationers used paratexts to fashion their publications and their readerships.[14]

In addition to integrating paratextual analysis into studies of marketing and readership, publisher studies have also continued to broaden our understanding of printing house agency in other ways. In *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor,* Sonia Massai ascribes additional agency to publishers as annotating readers and as the procurers of

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[14] Bergeron *Textual Patronage in English Drama, 1570-1640* (2006)*;* Brooks *From Playhouse to Printing House* (2000)*;* Stern *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (2009).

annotated copy. Challenging the assumption that, prior to Nicholas Rowe's 1709 edition, Shakespeare's texts "gradually deteriorated through the accumulation of accidental corruption in the printing house", Massai identifies a history of editorial intervention in sixteenth and seventeenth century editions of Shakespeare that is motivated by publishers' meeting reader demand for "perfected" texts (*Rise* 1, 7-8).[15] In Massai's study, the perfection and correction of copy by printing house agents is no longer regarded as interference but as "a necessary stage in the process of transmission" throughout the early modern period (*Rise* 10). Massai also points out that, in instances when the playwright was unavailable, "non-authorial correction… of the printer's copy was not seen as a spurious interference" (*Rise* 9).[16] Massai's understanding of non-authorial agents as conscientious correctors serves as a model for the textual collaboration examined throughout this dissertation, which in turn supports and expands Massai's approach.

Also relevant to my approach is the methodology employed by Peter McCullough in his 2008 study "Print, Publication, and Religious Politics in Caroline England". McCullough draws from materialist studies by scholars such as Margreta de Grazia, Peter Stallybrass and Roger Chartier as well as D.F. McKenzie's idea that bibliography should look for meaning within "all forms of texts" (*Sociology of Texts* 4).[17] McCullough proposes that "ideological congruence between publications and stationers" can be established through additional research in non-literary sources (286). McCullough's incorporation of archival research into a close analysis of early modern stationers' outputs has created opportunities for readings in additional historical and cultural contexts. More pertinent to discussions of textual collaboration is McCullough's pursuit of "ideological congruence" between the publisher Richard Badger and his writer William Laud (286). In positing that shared ideological interests united Badger and Laud in a "mutually reinforcing relationship" of publication, McCullough challenged the author versus printing house dichotomy established by Pollard and the New Bibliographers by suggesting that writers and stationers could in fact collaborate with each other (302). While McCullough's study addresses collaboration in non-

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[15] For the most comprehensive study of Rowe see Margreta deGrazia's *Shakespeare Verbatim.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.

[16] Massai's annotated readers are examined and discussed at length throughout this dissertation. See also Thomas Berger's article on Q2 *Othello,* "The Second Quarto of *Othello* and the Question of Textual 'Authority'", where the editor of Q2 is described as a "careful contemporary". This idea is discussed at length in Chapter 3.

[17] de Grazia and Stallybrass "The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text" (*SQ* 1993), Stallybrass, Roger Chartier et al. "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England" (*SQ* 2004), Chartier *The Order of Books* (Stanford UP, 1994).

dramatic works, his conclusion suggests the compatibility between writer and stationer agencies that this dissertation asserts is prominent in dramatic publication.

The work of textual scholars like Lesser, Massai, and McCullough has transformed early modern publishers and printers from pirates into shrewd marketers, literary critics, readers, editors, and writers with their own personal styles and reputations.[18] In addition to achieving attention equal to printers, studies which focus on publishers have broadened current notions of textual authority to include the type of "collective agency" that is central to this thesis. Accordingly, its main contention is that only by considering the contributions of all agents within the textual space of early modern printed play books can we truly understand how "Shakespeare" was constructed in print.

Collaboration between stationers and playwrights from the commercial theatre is not completely unheard of in early modern drama. Ben Jonson is the most notable example of a playwright actively interested in his plays' presentation in print. It is also generally accepted that Thomas Heywood participated in publication in the later part of his career and *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* has brought to light evidence of Middleton's interest in the visual presentation of his dramatic publications.[19] However, such studies typically attribute additional authority to writers rather than illustrating negotiations between playhouse and printing house agencies. Textual studies have made significant strides in understanding the contributions of printing house agents to the transmission of early modern drama in print. However, the distribution of textual authority between playwright and stationer in situations involving printing house playwrights remains problematic. While the work of Blayney, Lesser, and numerous others provided a much needed "shift of attention from author to publisher", this stationer approach reveals its own inherent bias (Lesser, *Renaissance* 24). Inaccurate attribution of roles and different types of textual intervention shows that even textual scholars interested in printing house agency still struggle with the idea that a stationer shares textual authority with an author. For example, Bianca Calabresi's 2005 study, "'Red Incke': Reading the Bleeding on the Early Modern Page" includes a close analysis of the title page in the 1607 quarto of *The Whore of Babylon.* Here the contributions of

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[18] See also for stationers as marketers Scragg (1997), Lesser (2004), McCullough (2008), as literary critics see Scragg (1995), Taylor (2006), as editors Bland (1998), as first readers Lesser (2004), writers and their pursuit of patronage see Bergeron (2006). Also most recently see the collection *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography.* Ed. Marta Straznicky. University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming in 2013.

[19] Both Heywood and Middleton's participation in publication are further considered in Chapter Two. See also for Heywood: Benedict Scott Robinson "Thomas Heywood and the Cultural Politics of Play Collections" *Studies in English Literature* 42 (2002); and for Middleton: John H. Astington, "Visual Texts: Thomas Middleton and Prints." *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to The Collected Works.* Oxford: Clarendon, 2007.

the playwright Thomas Dekker and the nameless compositor/printer of the quarto to the overall effect of the title page become blurred and the playwright eventually overshadows the printer, as when Calabresi refers to "Dekker's front matter" (257). Thus, the collective agents of playwright and stationer become merged into singular authorship despite Calabresi's clear presentation of data to the contrary.

Further evidence of this separation of stage and page is visible in the general absence of playwrights from narratives focused on stationers. In "The Publication of Playbooks", Blayney's publishing process isolates the text in a printing house exclusively populated by stationers. Zachary Lesser goes even further and argues that his methodology "depended" upon the author playing "no role in this(the) publication, neither as an intentional agent ...nor even as an ideological effect or 'author function'" (*Renaissance* 24). While Lesser's desire for more knowledge of publishers' contributions to dramatic publication is valid, his assertion that such a reading can only be done by essentially removing Beaumont and Fletcher from the narrative reinforces the boundary lines between playwright and stationer. In this way, recent and new approaches to early modern textual criticism often imagine printing and publication as processes which are, in effect, author-less.

At the same time, the playwrights who Lesser claims "played no role in ... publication", cannot be completely eliminated from his study (*Renaissance* 24). For instance, Lesser's examination of the title page to Francis Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1613) notes that its publisher Walter Burre adopted several characteristically Jonsonian typographical elements into subsequent publications, including Latin epitaphs, epistles, "continuous printing", as well as an interest in highlighting literary rather than theatrical qualities of a play (*Renaissance* 62-67). However, Lesser's insistence that Burre "appropriated" a "Jonsonian literary status to *The Knight* even without the Jonsonian construction of an author" overlooks the intrinsic textual authority of a playwright in his work and its influence on the publisher's interaction with the text (*Renaissance* 66). Examples throughout this dissertation will show that a playwright maintains authority as author of the creative work amongst the contributions of printing house agents. Such textual interrelation bears particular relevance during the production of Shakespeare in print where stationers interacted with his plays during transmission even though he did not work alongside them in the printing house. The interplay between Shakespeare and the stationers who published his dramatic works is the focus of my dissertation.

3. Methodology and Description of Research Project

This dissertation presents alternative models of textual collaboration between Shakespeare and his stationers in order to demonstrate the centrality of collaboration to the transmission of early modern drama in print. My research considers groups of commercial play quartos published by the same playwright/stationer partnerships in London between 1594 and 1632 as sites of collective textual authority in which the agencies of playwright and stationer co-operatively contribute to the production of the material text. Repositioning printing house agents as textual collaborators, this dissertation challenges traditional models of early modern textual transmission by arguing that Shakespeare's early printed quartos were the result of a constructive collaboration between the playwright and his stationers.

Central to my approach is the idea that the early modern playtext was a dynamic textual space within which multiple agents could and did co-exist. The definitions of work and author which follow inform my theorisation of such a textual space. In his study of authorship in the plays of Thomas Middleton, MacDonald Jackson sees the "individual talent" of the single authorial agent not only surviving but thriving in the collaborative world of early modern play writing. By proposing that "authors with their personal creative gifts remain crucial agents in the generation of collaborative texts", Jackson envisioned a textual space with room enough to accommodate the authority of not just one author but many ("Early Modern Authorship" 88). Jackson's model has useful applications for considering the contributions of other textual agents. If it is possible for a writer to retain individual authority while collaborating with other writers, it is equally possible for a writer to function in a similar way amongst agents like publishers, printers, and annotators. Margaret Jane Kidnie's definition of "Work" offers a model for the kind of textual space that could accommodate these multiple and varied authorities. In numerous essays and in her 2009 book *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, Kidnie defines the play or work as a "shared cultural and lived space that embraces and ranges across both performance(s) and text(s)" (*Adaptation* 7). As a process which is always evolving through accommodation of additional sites of production, Kidnie's space is "as elastic as critical opinion and popular estimation will allow" ("Where is Hamlet?" 115).

Similarly, when thinking about textual transmission, I would argue that a playbook is also a dynamic space rather than a mere material object. Accordingly,

textual agents are identified in my thesis by the specific tasks they undertake in a given instance: publisher, compositor, printer, bookseller, etc. In order to draw attention to writers as part of a network of agents associated with the production of plays, I use the terms "playwright", "dramatist" and, in cases of non-dramatic work, "writer" throughout. My choice of terminology follows Jeffrey Masten's use of the word in the title of his 1997 article "Playwrighting: Authorship and Collaboration". As Masten's title suggests, scholars are already comfortable with the idea that playwrights collaborate: with other playwrights in the early stages of composition and with the various agents of playhouse production and performance. A playwright is an accepted member of a co-operative endeavour in the way that an Author in his connection to the immortal work is not. Use of the word "playwright" in discussions of collective textual authority clarifies the role of the individual writer as a craftsman and as a member of a larger group of agents involved in processes of textual production in the early modern period.

Collaboration is therefore understood in this dissertation to be a dynamic interplay between writers and stationers that exists even when the former are not physically present in the printing process or clearly preparing the printer copy themselves. In other words, a playwright's contribution remains a fundamental part of a work regardless of his further, direct involvement with the process through which it is transmitted into print. This notion of collaboration is directly linked to my understanding of early modern printed playbooks not only as material artefacts, but also as an inclusive and adaptable textual space which retains its identity and endures every time the writer, or a reviser, or a stationer, or a reader, that is any textual agent, engages with it. In short, collaboration in my research is not limited to physical encounters between agents, but includes all interactions between them within the textual space of an early modern printed playbook. This new approach makes it possible to see stationers as working in co-operation with Shakespeare's plays in spite of the fact that he seems never to have directly engaged with the printing process.

Although my methodology can be applied to early modern commercial drama more generally, my dissertation focuses on early modern Shakespeare quartos. While relations between quarto and folio Shakespeare are briefly considered in Chapter 4, this dissertation is primarily concerned with the production of small-format Shakespeare, which represented a very specific type of product geared to a very specific type of reader. Stationers selected for this study were identified as having both an extended engagement with the work of a commercial playwright in print and had also

contributed to the publication of at least one Shakespeare play in quarto. Understanding collaboration as an extended co-operative engagement between stationer (s) and playwright, each chapter first offers profiles of the stationers involved in the publication of Shakespeare's early quartos and then determines the extent and quality of their contributions. Through both literary and textual analysis, my research shows the variety of ways in which early modern stationers engaged with Shakespeare. Thus, by understanding dramatic publication as a complex textual space in which all agents involved contribute in distinctive and significant ways to the production, reproduction, and reception of Shakespeare in print, this thesis offers a new methodology for identifying non-authorial intervention in early printed playbooks and a new understanding of this type of intervention as integral to their textual and bibliographic make-up.

The first half of this dissertation identifies instances of textual collaboration between a range of agents straddling the writer/stationer divide. Chapter One, "Collective Agency in Textual Space: Henry Chettle, John Danter and Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*", offers a close study of the career of the stationer/playwright Henry Chettle and his professional association with the stationer John Danter. Chettle's credentials as a playwright and a printer offer a unique opportunity to consider how the skills of each trade informed Chettle's work and his contributions to Danter's publication of Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*.

Chapter Two, "Dynamics of Textual Collaboration: Nicholas Okes and Q1 *King Lear*", expands the concept of collective agency explored in Chapter One by reconstructing the multiple collaborative relationships of the stationer Nicholas Okes with a range of dramatists, including John Ford and Thomas Middleton, and with other publishers of commercial drama. The chapter then looks at the early years of Okes's extended collaboration with Thomas Heywood as an example of a particularly productive relationship between a writer and his stationer. In light of Okes's profile as an active textual collaborator, the chapter concludes with a revisionary study of his printing of the first quarto of Shakespeare's *King Lear.* Reconsidering Q1 as the product of the collective agency of Okes, his publisher Nathaniel Butter, and Shakespeare, this section of Chapter Two shows that textual collaboration is integral to the production of a problematic quarto like Q1 *King Lear*.

Having shown the variety of ways in which a selection of printer/publishers engaged with commercial playwrights and/or dramatic publications, the second half of this dissertation applies this methodology to stationers who acted solely as publishers of

commercial drama, including the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Chapter Three, "Publisher Collaboration 1: Richard Hawkins and Q2 *Othello* (1630)", considers the textual interventions of annotating readers and correctors through the dramatic repertoire of the publisher/bookseller Richard Hawkins, including his conflated edition of Shakespeare's *Othello* (1630, Q2). The contributions of playwright, printer, and publisher are identified and discussed through a close analysis of paratextual materials and substantive variants from across Hawkins's dramatic repertoire. Editorial and printing practices are considered in conjunction with playwright contributions to establish how this textual collaboration produced an edition that both shaped *and* preserved Shakespeare's play in light of the particular requirements of Caroline readers.

Chapter Four, "Publisher Collaboration 2: Shakespeare and the Fleet Street Syndicate (1629-1632)", builds upon Chapter Three to consider the impact of a publishing syndicate. Richard Hawkins and his colleagues, John Smethwick and Richard Meighen not only produced a substantial share of the Shakespeare quartos published in the 1630s but also acted as members of the syndicate behind the second Folio edition of Shakespeare's complete works. With bookstalls at Chancery Lane, St. Dunstan's in the West, and the Middle Temple, Hawkins's, Smethwick's and Meighen's publications established the Inns of Court as a prominent location for printed Shakespeare in the Caroline era. Analysis of the Fleet Street Syndicate's publications of *Othello, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Love's Labour's Lost,* and *The Taming of the Shrew* as a quarto collection presents stationers collaborating to boost market demand for Shakespearean play books.

This research draws attention to textual collaboration between Shakespeare and his stationers, which is largely overlooked in textual studies openly averse or indifferent to the contributions of non-authorial agents to the transmission of Shakespeare's plays into print. Addressing broad issues ranging from early modern notions of dramatic authorship, collaboration, printing house practices, and attitudes to print and dramatic publication, my dissertation shows the benefits of considering stationers and playwrights as collaborators in the transmission of dramatic plays into print. It also demonstrates how a textual space which acknowledges the authority of all agents is more amenable to the collective authority intrinsic to the production of early modern drama in print. Furthermore, by dispensing with the notion of printing house practice as a "veil of print", this dissertation identifies additional co-operative printing house practices as well as an additional range of textual interventions by Shakespeare's publishers. For this

reason, my dissertation argues that early modern stationers are in fact active, professional contributors to the development of Shakespeare in print.

Chapter 1

Collective Agency in Textual Space: Henry Chettle, John Danter, and Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*

Introduction

In order to understand the early modern play as a textual space where playhouse and printing house agents collectively contribute to the creative work, it is first necessary to explore their inherent compatibility. John Jowett's description of the playwright and stationer Henry Chettle as: "compositor, editor, epistle-writer, scribbler, printer's reader, patcher, playmaker, plagiarist, and would-be man of letters" reflects the multitude of textual personas that Chettle assumed in his working life. ("Factotum" 483). For this reason, Chettle's participation as an agent of both playhouse and printing house is a compelling example of how the skills of stationer and playwright co-operatively engaged in the publication process. The first part of this chapter looks at Chettle's combined stationer and writer repertoire of non-dramatic and dramatic writings published throughout his career. Since Harold Jenkins's 1934 book, *The Life and Work of Henry Chettle* critics traditionally examine Chettle's writing and printing attributions individually. Few consider the impact that practising both professions in such temporal and spacial proximity has on the textual spaces of Chettle's works. Exploring the agency of "Chettle the stationer" alongside the agency of "Chettle the writer" presents various ways in which his collective skills co-operatively engage within a variety of textual spaces, challenging understandings of stationer and writer agency as antagonistic textual authorities. Once Chettle's textual persona is presented as a complementary combination of writer and printer sensibilities, part one of this chapter concludes with a study of Chettle's role in his most controversial publication, *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit.* Considering the interplay between Chettle's writing and printing skills in this complex textual narrative offers additional insights into Chettle's approach to this text while suggesting a dynamic model of collective agency in a singular textual space. The second part of this chapter focuses on the printing house practices of Chettle's colleague, the stationer John Danter. Danter is perhaps best known as printer of the 1597 first quarto of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (STC 22322; henceforth Q1). While Q1 is generally accepted to be a lesser quality version of the text, modern scholars and editors are consistently drawn to its highly descriptive stage directions. Recent studies by Warren

Austin and John Jowett, where Henry Chettle is identified as the author of these directions, suggest a unique moment when Chettle combined his skills as a stationer and as a writer as he prepared Q1 for the press.[1] Having already considered Chettle's collaborative contributions as writer and printer within a textual space, Part Two considers Danter's approach to printing house collaboration through a study of his broader publication output. Critical analysis of dramatic and non-dramatic texts as well as a variety of paratextual evidence offers a more comprehensive profile of Danter's publication practices in which to contextualise his publication of *Romeo and Juliet* and his collaboration with Chettle during its publication. This chapter pays particular attention to Danter's interactions with writers, especially during the publication process, to create a context for his collaboration with Chettle and for further assessing his long-standing reputation as the "first of the Shakespeare pirates" (Pollard *Shakespeare's Folios* 69). In addition, my study of Danter's repertoire highlights thematic and paratextual similarities amongst Danter's dramatic publications and, as a result, identifies a previously unconsidered niche market for Danter's printing house, offering a new topical reading for *Romeo and Juliet.* The third and final part of the chapter examines the character of Chettle's stage directions in Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* as the product of Danter and Chettle's collaborative agency. Building upon knowledge of Chettle's and Danter's approaches to printing house collaboration and textual intervention developed in Parts One and Two, Part Three considers Chettle's writing and stationer skills within the parameters of Danter's publication. This analysis provides a textual narrative for Chettle's directions that considers both playhouse and printing house influences. More broadly, my research demonstrates the knowledge to be gained by studying texts as part of a publisher's repertoire and the benefits of considering the collective agency of stage and page at work within the same textual space.

Part 1: Henry Chettle

1.1 Printer Amongst Writers

Thanks to the records of the Stationers' Company, we have far more information about the early years of Henry Chettle's professional life than of most early modern playwrights. The *Stationers' Register* entry for 8th October 1577 that "Henrie Chettell …

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[1] cf Warren *A Computer Aided Technique for Stylistic Discrimination: The Authorship of "Greene's Groatsworth of Wit."* and Jowett "Quarto".

hathe put himself apprentice to Thomas Easte Cytezen and stacioner of London for viij yeres" (Arber II, 81) locates Chettle in the Thames Street printing house of the master printer Thomas East twenty years before his name first appeared in the diary of the theatrical manager, Philip Henslowe (Carson 61; Foakes 87).[2] For seven years Chettle learned the mechanics of printing and publishing alongside East's two other apprentices, Henry Brooke and Thomas Scarlett. Bibliographical studies, including D.F. McKenzie's study of the Cambridge University Press and Peter Blayney's study of Nicholas Okes, have shown that a printer's character and the quality of their work may be inferred, at least in part, from the publication outputs of their printing houses.[3] Blayney suggested that master printers fell into two 'types', those who regularly printed "plays and other ephemeral literature" and those who produced larger, more time-consuming works (*Texts* 27). Arguing that printers who regularly printed the former were motivated by the desire to turn an easy profit, and consequently produced lower calibre texts than "quality houses" focused on higher-profile jobs, Blayney suggests a link between a printer's repertoire and reputation (*Texts* 27). In this dissertation, a study of the character and quality of East's printing house during Chettle's apprenticeship also offers useful insights into Chettle's early training and induction into the world of publication. Following Blayney's definition, a review of Thomas East's printing output suggests that Chettle was apprenticed to one of the "quality houses". East regularly published work for reputable stationers such as William Ponsonby, publisher of Ben Jonson's *Workes* and Gabriel Cawood, who held many administrative positions within the Stationers' Company. Furthermore, East's output distinguishes him as a printer who opted out of printing plays and ballads in favour of more substantial texts. While East's most frequently printed category is religion, he repeatedly produces other genres including travel writing, language text books, and works from the emerging canon of English literary authors including Sir Thomas Malory, John Lyly, and Edmund Spenser.[4] As apprentice in such an establishment, Chettle would gain invaluable experience working with complex printing jobs and familiarity with the textual conventions of such publications, most notably the use of dedicatory prefaces, which feature prominently in Chettle's own repertoire.

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[2] Chettle's first mention in *Henslowe's Diary* is his involvement with *Part 2 of Robin Hood or the Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon* with Anthony Munday.

[3] cf. D.F. McKenzie *The Cambridge University Press 1696-1712: a Bibliographical Study* (1966) and Blayney's *The Texts of* King Lear *and their Origins* (1982).

[4] These non-literary texts included *Theatrum mundi* by Pierre, Boaistuau (STC 3170)and *A plaine pathwaie to the French tongue* (STC 11376.3, 1581).

As is the case with many early modern stationers, we have little documentation of Chettle's activities from the time he took up his freedom in October 1584 until he began printing and publishing under his own name. In July 1588, Chettle was still associated with the company and was paid six shillings to "beare his charges to Cambridge aboute the Cumpanyes affaires" (Arber I, 528).[5] However, it is not until eight years after he completed his apprenticeship that Chettle is first named as printer on a publication. Chettle's first imprint is on the title page of a 1591 sermon entitled *The Affinity of the Faithful* (STC 22656) where he shares printing credit with the master printer William Hoskins and the journeyman John Danter.[6] A partnership between the three stationers was approved by the Stationers' Company on third August 1591 with the proviso that Hoskins, as the only stationer with "master" status, maintain the primary authority in the business (Greg, *Court* 38). Weeks later on 17th September, Chettle recorded his printing rights to Thomas Lodge's *Bayting of Diogenes* (STC 16654), alternatively titled *Catharos*, in the *Stationers' Register* (Arber II, 595).[7] Chettle's only recorded publishing venture, *Catharos* is also the most literary of the three texts jointly produced by Hoskins, Danter, and Chettle.[8] However, the limited surviving publication output suggests that the triple partnership did not last long. By August 1592 Danter was printing out of his own house in Duck Lane, and Chettle was working on his most controversial publication, *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* (STC 12245, 1592).[9]

Chettle left a number of prefaces in which he documents in detail his work in the printing house. Identifying himself in his writings as "printer", "compositor", and "stationer", it is clear that Chettle saw himself as a part of the print industry.[10] That Chettle continued attaching such titles to his name well into the 1590s, when he was already working as a playwright, is our first indication that Chettle saw his two vocations as compatible. Chettle's short note in Thomas Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron Walden*

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[5] McKitterick suggests this was possibly in relation to a dispute between the London Guild and the Cambridge University Press over the printing of dictionaries. (McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, 1).

[6] Danter's name appears in place of Chettle's on a variant title page (STC 22656.5).

[7] While the text is registered under Chettle's name, Hoskins and Danter are listed as printers on the title page, perhaps as a way of negotiating the Company's proviso that the partnership could only exist if "there shalbe not alienac[i]on or transportinge made by hym to them or either of them or to any other of his Rowm or place of A mayster printer wthout consent of the m^{r} . wardens and Assistente for the tyme beinge" (Greg, *Court* 38).

[8] The other two were sermons: *The Affinity of the Faithful* (STC 22656, 22656.5, 1591) and *A Fruitfull Sermon* both by Henry Smith (STC 22664, 1591).

[9] Danter's first solo entry in the *Register* happens just over a year after the Hoskins/Chettle/Danter agreement. It is for "A pleasant newe balled Called the maydens choyce" (Arber II, 593). See also Hanabusa 22-23.

[10] cf. *Primaleon* (A3v, 28), *Saffron Walden* (V2v, 17), Henslowe's *Diary* (Foakes *Diary* 119, f.62r).

(STC 18369, 1596) is one example in which Chettle's writing offers an insider's view into the ethos of the early modern printing house as well as a first hand account of his working life as a stationer. In this brief testimonial, Chettle responds to allegations of slander against Thomas Nashe by Nashe's rival, Gabriel Harvey. In addition to his assurance that Nashe never abused him, Chettle also promises: "*your booke being readie for the Preſſe, Ile ſquare & ſet it / out in Pages*" (STC 18369, V2v, 4, 14-15).[11] Chettle's mention of the compositor tasks of "setting" type and "squaring" or justifying text demonstrate knowledge of printing house mechanics that Chettle would have acquired as an apprentice in East's house. However, in his assertion that "*Ile ſquare & ſet*" Chettle also assures Nashe that he will set the text himself.[12] Additional writings show Chettle's printing house employment beyond basic compositor duties. In a preface to Anthony Munday's translation of *The Second Booke of Primaleon* (STC 20366a, 1596), Chettle complains how any "*groſſe*" errors transferred from an author's copy to print "*will needes* [be] *caſt vpon the Printer*" (A3r, 25,26). Chettle's issue with this practice is quickly explained as he laments to Munday "*I tell ye M. /* Munday, *this tutcht me neere, for a hundred ſuch bur- / dens haue I borne*" (*Primaleon* A3r, 26 - A3v, 1). Chettle refers to an element of compositor work described by Joseph Moxon in his *Mechanick Exercises: or the Doctrine of Handiworks Applied to the Art of Printing* (1683). While noting that "a Compositor is strictly to follow his copy", Moxon also contends:

> the carelessness of some good authors and the ignorance of other Authors, has forc'd Printers to introduce a Custom, which among them is look'd upon as a task and duty incumbent on the Compositor, viz. to discern and amend the bad Spelling and Pointing of his Copy (192).

Compositors, according to Moxon, were expected to emend the writer's copy as they felt necessary. Writers' complaints against printers over the inconsistencies of such discretionary correcting are a common topic in early modern prefaces.[13] In a preface to his own poem "*The Shepheards Spring Song*", Chettle complains how his printer "being ill

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[11] Long "s" has been modernised throughout. Titles are modernised throughout except where the spelling is relevant to critical analysis.

[12] For additional description of "setting" and "squaring", see Ronald B. McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students.* Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1994. Also in Jowett ("Quarto" 58).

[13] Although Moxon's treatise was published in the late seventeenth century, practices in printing houses are not believed to have changed significantly throughout the seventeenth century. For other prefaces that address this kind of correction, see for example, Thomas Heywood's dedication "To My Approved Good Friend, Mr. Nicholas Okes" in Heywood's *An Apology for Actors* (STC 13309, G4r). Heywood complains of "misquotations, mistaking of sillables, ... coining of strange and neuer heard of words" (G4r, 5-8). This dedication is discussed further in Chapter 2.

acquainted with Poetrie, ... hath paſ- / ſed Herores for Heroes" (*Mourning Garment*, H3v).[14] However, writing as "H.C. Printer", Chettle suggests this task was equally unpleasant for compositors.

> *The cuſtome is common, when an Au- / thor or Tranſlator (either ignorant or negligent) palpa- / bly erre, then the Printer (forſooth) as if hee had deſer- / ued to ſtand with a paper on his head at euerie Stationers / ſtall, muſt make a great* Errata, *calling the Title,* Faults / eſcaped in the Printing*: when (God knowes) ſhould he / let but halfe the faults paſſe of manie such VVriters, he / ſhould make them be as well laught at...* (*Primaleon*, A3v, 1-8).

Claiming that "*a hundred ſuch bur- / dens haue I borne*" (A3r, 27 - A3v, 1), the errata is for Chettle an unwarranted public penance inflicted on printers. Moreover, including himself amongst the ranks of unappreciated printers indicates that Chettle felt a camaraderie with his fellow stationers and pride in the job he did at the press.

Additional evidence suggests that Chettle also performed more specialised tasks such as correcting. Placing Chettle in Danter's printing house in the mid 1590s as both a compositor and, via his theatrical connections, a source for procuring dramatic copy, John Jowett suggests Chettle "can plausibly be identified as the printing-house corrector of Latin noted by Greg" in Danter's 1594 publication of *Orlando Furioso* ("Factotum" 486). Greg's study noted that in spite of many errors, this quarto consistently preserved and corrected Latin names. Thus he concluded that "it is wholly improbable that this revision should have been due to any of the usual agents responsible for producing the copy of Q" (*Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements* 282). In this instance, Greg sees compositors and correctors as individuals with distinctly different skill sets. Moxon, however, describes the early modern corrector as "well skilled in Languages, especially in those that are used to be Printed with us" as well as "skilful in the Compositors whole Task and Obligation" (246). In Moxon's estimation, the ideal corrector is a compositor whose skills are complemented with additional specialist knowledge, including the languages regularly encountered in their own printing house. Here, Chettle's early training and exposure to the publication repertoire of his master Thomas East lends support to Jowett's assertion. The literary texts produced in Thomas East's house during Chettle's apprenticeship, such as John Lyly's *Euphues His England* and *Euphues Anatomy of Wit,* would have offered Chettle repeated contact with common classical names and phrases that would enable him to recognise and emend incorrect spellings of

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[14] While this preface appears before the 'Shepheardes Spring-Song', it seems unlikely that it is referring to this poem as neither the word 'Heroes' or 'Heroroes' appears in the poem and the poem itself is set properly in verse.

Latinate names like those cited in Greg's study (*Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements* 282). Additional evidence that Chettle had a least a basic understanding of Latin can be seen in how he incorporates it into his own writing. Chettle includes Latin commonplaces in *The Tragedy of Hoffman,*[15] and common places and mottos to the title pages of his *Kind Heart's Dream* (*Inuita Inuidiae*) and *England's Mourning Garment* (*Non Verbis ſed Virtute*; STC 5121), and may even have contributed some of the Latin, particularly the motto *Faelicem fuisse infaustum* to *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* as well as the rather telling motto *Nuda Veritas* to the title page of his own *Pierce Plainness.*[16] The idea that an early modern apprentice would read the texts in his master's house is not without precedent. Adrian Johns cites court testimony of the apprentice bookseller John Fish against his master for forbidding him to read while watching the shop as evidence that apprentices read the texts sold in their master's bookstalls (115).[17] An apprentice with a working knowledge of his master's repertoire would certainly be useful in promoting his stock. As this chapter will shortly discuss, for an apprentice with literary aspirations, such access to literature also meant a wealth of models from which to learn the art of writing.

A final characteristic of Chettle's work as a printer is a connection between his function as a printer and his attempts to support the work of other writers. In his preface to *Kind Heart's Dream,* Chettle reflects on how "*all the time of my conuerſing in printing [have] hindred / the bitter inueying againſt ſchollers*" (A3v, 16-17). This assertion may be supported by numerous instances where Chettle's exercising of his stationer authority coincides with interaction both with and on behalf of writers. In *Have With You To Saffron Walden,* Chettle's coupling of his promise to set and square Nashe's text with the congenial closing "Your old Compoſitor, / *Henry Chettle*" denotes a connection to Nashe through Chettle's expertise as a printer (V2v, 17-18). Chettle similarly offers his assistance "To his good Friend M. *Anthony Mundy*" in the preface to Munday's *Primaleon* (A3r-v). Identifying himself as "Your old Well-willer: / *H.C. Printer*" (A3v, 27-8), Chettle recounts how he waited for the text to appear in the printing house and, once it arrived, assured Munday that "*I haue done all my diligence to further the Edition*" (A3r, 5-6). As Munday's "Printer", Chettle's support may have included setting the text. In this case, it also

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[15] An example is discussed later in this chapter: cf page 38. See also in *Hoffman* (C3v, 26, 29-30; H2r, 1-4; H4v, 9).

[16] The motto occurs three times in *GGW* on the title page, twice at the end of the text as a closing signature to the main text, and then again at the end of the 'Letter to Greene's Wife' (F3v, F4). The motto appears again in Chettle's *England's Mourning Garment* (A2v).

[17] cf. Corporation of London Record Office, Mayor's Court Interrogatories 334, 487, 291, 419.

included a bit of promotion on his friend's behalf.[18] Citing his authority as an experienced printer who has "*long / loytered*" (A3r, 3-4) in the printing house, Chettle argues for the superiority of Mundy's text by comparing the quality of translation and its printing to other recently published histories. To make his point, Chettle draws attention to the poor composition of a lesser text by citing, of all things, faults escaped in printing: "*within a few lines I found where he tells vs of a King, / that married the Emperour of* Conſtantinople" and refers to this slip as an "*error (beeing but one among manie as groſſe)*" (A3r, 23-5). In this way, Chettle's argument that Munday's translation "*be found more than a dayes difference*" from its competitors is a combination of Munday's "de- /lectablie" translation and the implied superior work of Munday's printer (A3r, 20, 7-8). As such, Chettle's support of Munday's work also identifies the contributions of writer and printer as compatible components of a successful publication: a central tenet of the textual collaboration advocated by this dissertation.

Chettle's commitment to "furthering" Munday's work is also evident in the dedication "*To his good friend Ma : A.M.*" in Anthony Munday's translation of the second part of *Gerileon of England* (STC 17202, 1592), which was written by Chettle but bears the signature "T. N.". In the preface of his own satirical pamphlet *Kind Heart's Dream,* Chettle admits to writing the preface ("*and repent / it not*") but claims that: "*by the workemans error* T.N. *were ſet to / the end*" (A4r, 25, 23-24). Reoccurring images in *Kind Heart's Dream* and Chettle's preface to *Gerileon* affirm Chettle's claim. Where the *Gerileon* preface protests the printing of "odious and laſciuious ribauldrie, as *Watkins Ale*, *The Carmans Whiſtle,* and ſundrie ſuch other" (A4r, 21-22), in *Kind Heart's Dream,* the character "Anthony Now-now" similarly lists "the laſciuious vnder ſongs" as "Watkins Ale, the Carmans whistle, Chopingknives, / and frier foxtaile" (C2r, 14-16). However, Chettle's claim that the misattribution to T.N. was a "workemans" error seems unlikely if we consider that *Gerileon's* printer, Thomas Scarlet, served his apprenticeship with Chettle in Thomas East's printing house. The fact that Chettle would be so intimately acquainted with the printer of this text calls into question the likelihood that "T.N." was a compositorial mistake. Would Scarlet actually forget that the man he lived and worked with for nearly six years wrote the preface he was printing and then just happen to replace it with the initials of a well-known writer like Thomas Nashe?[19] A more

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[18] Further discussion of Chettle's friendship with Munday can be found in C.T. Wright's "Young Anthony Munday Again." *Studies in Philology* 56(1959): 150-68.

[19] The choice of Nashe was probably not random, as evidence suggests that Nashe lived with John Danter, Chettle's frequent collaborating stationer. (Nicholl 224-5).

probable scenario might be that Chettle's and Scarlet's stationer training made them acutely aware of the desirability of establishing credit for a text and that one of the ways of presenting this authority to the reader was through dedications from authoritative experts like other writers. Chettle's own use of his qualification "H.C. Printer" to authorise his diatribe against errata pages at the end of his *Primaleon* preface suggests that he was well aware of this practice. However, at this point in his career, Chettle is a virtually unknown writer in print and would provide little in the way of authorial credit to the average reader. The simple replacing of Chettle's name with that of a well-known personality like Nashe would certainly meet this objective. While the "wit" behind Chettle's actions is questionable, the use of "T.N." nevertheless indicates dedication to promoting Munday's text and an understanding of how dedicatory prefaces could promote a publication. By exploiting this knowledge and his connections in the printing house, Chettle maximised publicity for Munday. Moreover, Chettle's subsequent admission of this misattribution as his work, with no evidence of consequence or reprimand, suggests an additional mark of Chettle's printing house expertise. In addition to knowing the system, Chettle also knew how to work it to his advantage.

Chettle's use of technical details of printing and publication in his prefaces to *Primaleon, Gerileon,* and *Kind Heart's Dream* present Chettle actively participating in the culture of the early modern printing house on multiple levels. His descriptions of various jobs undertaken by compositors show that he received a solid education in the basics of the profession during his apprenticeship with East. Chettle's personal accounts of difficulties involving emendation of writer's work and his general defence of stationers performing this task support Greg's and Jowett's assertions that he also on occasion worked as a corrector. Chettle also repeatedly used his knowledge and experience as textual credit to engage professionally with writers and their texts. Chettle's willingness to offer his technical expertise and his understanding of the publication industry to writers like Nashe and Munday suggests that Chettle saw the printing house not merely as a place to practise his craft but also as an opportunity to engage with the world of writers and writing. In this way, Chettle provides a prime example of compatibility between writer and stationer agencies in the period.

1.2 Writer Amongst Printers

While the prefaces of "H.C. Printer" lend useful insights into the early career of an early modern stationer, Chettle is actually better known through fragments, records, and a handful of plays as a playwright of the early modern commercial theatre. It is unclear exactly when Chettle broke into the theatre scene. The major source for evidence of Chettle's career is the diary of the theatrical manager Phillip Henslowe. Henslowe's diary first mentions Chettle in Autumn 1597 (Carson 61). However, Neil Carson observes that "as a young apprentice coming of age in the London of the early 1580s Chettle could hardly have been unaffected by the excitement and controversy surrounding the nascent professional drama" (Carson 61). Chettle's interest in and engagement with writers, particularly a playwright like Anthony Munday, lends support to the idea that Chettle had writerly ambitions and made efforts to connect with the world of the theatre before he appears as a paid writer in Henslowe's diary. Apparently, once he made the move, Chettle quickly established himself in the pool of playwrights working for the Admiral's Men. By the 1598 spring/summer season, Chettle was "the most prolific and highly paid of the dramatists working for Shaa and Downton" and was described by Francis Meres that same year as "the Best for Comedy among us" (Carson 61; Meres 283). Chettle is listed in Henslowe's diary as having a hand in at least thirty-one different writing jobs between 1597 and 1603 (Foakes *Diary* 225-26).[20] A high percentage of these involved writing plays in collaboration with other writers. *Diary* entries for the fall-winter season of 1599-1600 show Chettle was part of a group of seven playwrights: Thomas Dekker, Michael Drayton, Richard Hathaway, William Haughton, John Day, and Chettle's printing house acquaintance, Anthony Munday. Collectively, this group did all the writing for the Admiral's Men that season (Carson 59). Members of this group, Chettle included, were also responsible for the never performed play *Sir Thomas More* also produced around this time (Jowett *Sir Thomas More* 15-16,

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[20] Not including *Cataline* or *Robert Earl of Huntingdon*, these were (page numbers refer to Foakes *Diary*): *Brute* (98, 100), *'Tis no deceit to deceive the the deceiver* (102), *Troy's Revenge with the Tragedy of Polyphemus* (Poleseme) (105,118), *The Spensers* (106, 118), "Troilus and Cressida [the tragedy of Agamemnon]" (w/Dekker) (106, 121), "The stepmother's tragedy" (w/Haughton)(123), "Robert the second King of Scots" (w/Dekker, Jonson et al) (124), "Patient Grissel" (w/Dekker and William Harton) (125, 129), "The tragedie of Orphan's" (127), "Arkedian virgen" (w/William Harton) (128), "The seven wise masters" (w/Rowley) (131), "Damon and Pethias[Pithias]" (131), "The wooing of Death" (134), "The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green" (w/Day) (135), "All is not gold that glitters" (w/ Samuel Rowley) (167), "King Sebastian of Portugal" (w/Dekker) (168), "Life of Cardinal Wosley" (w/ Samuel Rowley) (171, 180), "The Rissenge (rissynge) of carnowlle wolsey" (w/Munday and Drayton) (183, 200), "Too Good to be True" (w/ Richard Hathaway & Wentworth Smith) (184, 187), "The Proud Woman" (198), "Love Parts Friendship" (200), "Tobyas" (200), "Tragedy of Felmelanco" (w/Middleton) (205), "London Florentine (Florenten)" (w/ Heywood) (207, 209), "prologue and epilogue for the court" (207), "A tragedy called Hawghman" (207), "Lady Jane" (w/Dekker, Heywood, Smith, & Webster) (218), "Christmas comes but once a year" (w/ Dekker) (220), "A play in which Shore's Wife is writen" (w/Day) (226).

424-32). Additional entries show Chettle working as a "play patcher" mending particular sections which needed extra work (Foakes *Diary* 180, 198, 200). Despite the *Diary's* accounts of Chettle's high theatrical productivity, only a few of these collaborations survive in print: a two-part play written with Munday entitled *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* and *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* (STC 18271 and 18269, 1601) alternately titled 1 and 2 *Robin Hood*, *Patient Grissel* (STC 6518, 1603) written with Dekker and Haughton and *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* (STC D464, 1659).[21] Chettle's only solo-authored work to survive in print, *The Tragedy of Hoffman, or Revenge of the Father* (STC 5125) was written around 1603 but did not appear in print until 1631. This chapter has already noted a handful of Chettle's non-dramatic writings which have survived, including *Kind Heart's Dream,* the pastoral *England's Mourning Garment,* and *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit.* Considered alongside Chettle's prefaces for *Gerileon, Primaleon,* and *Kind Heart's Dream*, these texts have provided scholars with a sense of Chettle's writing style.[22] In this study of Chettle's outputs as a stationer and as a writer, these texts also reveal the impact of his printing house experience on his writing.

The printing repertoire produced by Chettle's master Thomas East during the eight years of Chettle's apprenticeship (1577-1584) gives us an intriguing context in which to consider Chettle's earliest years as a writer. Details of East's output appear across Chettle's writing in passing references and full images. East produced a handful of literary works by distinguished writers including John Lyly and Edmund Spenser.[23] Lyly was known for his development of a Euphuistic mode of rhetoric based on an "antithetical balance promoted by use of schemes or figures of sound" (Scragg 3). John Jowett's observation that "a diluted version of the Euphuistic manner stayed with Chettle for many years" is supported by the fact that East published four editions of Lyly's *Euphues the Anatomy of Wit* and three editions of *Euphues and His England* during Chettle's apprenticeship ("Notes" 384).[24] Setting, pressing, and possibly correcting these frequent reprints would have given Chettle extended exposure to the sounds and rhythms of Lyly's writing, which would in turn enable him to incorporate elements of the writer's Euphuistic style into his own work.

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[21] attribution from DEEP.

[22] cf. Jenkins (esp. 77-85,179-80, 204), Thomas (8-16) and Jowett ("Factotum" 458-462, 478) and "Notes (Concluded)" (517).

[23] *Arthur of little Britaine* and *The storye of the most noble and worthy kynge Arthur…* by Malory (STC 808, 1582), *Euphues the Anatomy of Wit* and *Euphues and his England* by Lyly, and *The Shepheardes calender*, by Edmund Spenser (STC 23090, 1581).

[24] *Euphues the Anatomy of Wit* (STC 17051, [1578]; 17053, [1579]; 17054, [1580], 17055 ,1581) and *Euphues and his England* (STC 17070, 1580; 17071, 1581; 17072, 1582).

During Chettle's apprenticeship, East also published an edition of Edmund Spenser's *The Shepherd's Calendar* (STC 23090, 1581). A text not currently recognised as an influence on Chettle's work, *Shepherd's Calendar* shares numerous details with Chettle's final non-dramatic work, *England's Mourning Garment* (STC 5121 & 5122, 1603). Chettle's pamphlet begins with an enraptured tribute to the recently deceased Queen Elizabeth and concludes with an exuberant celebration of the newly ascended King James I. The first half, "*Worne by plaine Shepheardes, for the / death of that moſt excellent Empresse* Elizabeth, / Queene of Vertue" (A3v, 3-5), shares numerous parallels with the *Shepherd's Calendar's* fourth eclogue "April" which is also a dedication "*to the honor and prayſe of our moſt graci- / ous ſoueraigne,* Queene Elizabeth" (C3v, 3-4). Chettle adopts several particulars of the *Calendar's* pastoral motif including the names of Spenser's main characters, the shepherd swains "Thenot" and "Colin". In Spenser's piece, Colin the "Southerne ſhepheardes boye" is hopelessly smitten with Rosalind, the "Widdowes daughter of the glenne" (C4v, 18, 23). Adopting the theme of the passionate shepherd into his own work, Chettle redirects his "Collin's" affections from Rosalind to "*ſacred* Elizaes *loſſe*" (A3v, 31). Rejected by Rosalind, Spenser's Colin foreswears all "Shepheards delights" and, as a demonstration of his resolve, dramatically breaks his "pleaſaunt Pipe" (fol. 12, C4v, 9). Recognising a suitably dramatic action for expressing grief at Elizabeth's death, Chettle incorporates Spenser's image into his "Collin's" emotional outburst:

> With that, *Collin* in diſcontent, brake his pipe, and in / that paſſion, as if his heart had beene like his pipe, parted / each peece from the other , hee fell without ſenſe on the / earth, not then inſenſible of his ſorrowe ; for it yeelded, / wept, and groand at once, with his fall, his weepings and / his ſighs. (A4r, 1-6)

Adding a dramatic swoon, Chettle takes Spenser's image and expands it into both a dramatic moment and an important plot device. Having no instrument to play on, Collin is left to tell the tale of "that carefull Shepheardeſſe ELIZA", not in song, but in the prose narrative that follows (A4r, 26-27). Chettle's Collin also imitates Spenser's shepherd by ending his praise of the Queen with an account of her noble lineage. However, while Spenser explains the Queen's virtues through her being the descendant of the mythological figures Pan and Syrinx (D.i.r, 19-22), Chettle entertains his audience of shepherds and nymphs with a lesson in Tudor history. Dispensing with the quaint tone of his pastoral, Chettle opens with the not-so-subtle "She was the vndoubted iſſue of two royall Princes, *Hen- / ry* of *Lancaster* and *Elizabeth* of *Yorke*" (A4v, 14-15). This kind of *imitatio*, a consistent combination of parallels, contradictions, and elaborations, is not

uncommon in early modern literary models. Colin Burrow observes that poets contemporary to Shakespeare would regularly choose to expand upon a seemingly minor detail from another work (17-18). John Jowett similarly identifies patterns of "sufficient similarities" coupled with "consistent differences" as Chettle's preferred method of interacting with other revenge tragedies at the time of his writing *Hoffman* ("Hoffman: An Edition" 101).

In addition to finding inspiration in the texts he printed, Chettle found the printing house itself a stimulating scene of images and ideas to enrich his writing. Much like his prefaces, many of Chettle's fictional works are grounded in details of the early modern printing house ranging from passing mentions to central roles in narrative. In *Hoffman*, Jerom shows no prior printing house knowledge until he suddenly intends to secure the rights or "*Cum Priuilegio...Ad imprimendum solum*" to a poem written by his servant, Stilt (Jenkins, *Hoffman* 458-59; C3v,9). Utilising language typically denoting publisher rights in Latin imprints, Jerom exhibits an unexpected publishing expertise for the son of a Duke. In *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*, Chettle's use of technical printing vocabulary becomes an identifying feature of his work. In his study of the "Letter to the Playwrights", John Jowett suggests that Chettle's description of Shakespeare as "an abſolute Iohannes fac totum" bears particular significance because the author was also a printer ("Factotum" 482). Jowett suggests that employing the image of an adaptable "factotum", an ornamental block of print into which any individual piece of type may be inserted, complemented other images of "seeming and being" in Chettle's letter ("Factotum" 483). This reading, Jowett suggests, infused the letter with a subtle relevance that not only indicated a writer with printing knowledge but also resonated with Chettle's own attempts to infiltrate the company of playwrights ("Factotum" 483-84). Chettle's letter in Thomas Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron Walden or Gabriell Harueys Hunt is Up* (STC 18369, 1596) offers a similar example. After promising to "*ſquare & ſet*" the text, Chettle describes how Nashe's book will haunt Harvey: "*page and lackey his infame after him*" (V3v, 13-16). Chettle converts the compositor's formes into a figurative set of hangers-on who will go forth proclaiming Harvey's falseness. Even removed from the Nashe/Harvey rivalry, the image is, like the factotum, an object from the printing house that contributes to the primary theme of the text and deftly illustrates the amalgamation of Chettle's writer and stationer sensibilities.

Chettle's most sustained use of the printing house in his fiction, the dream sequence in *Kind Heart's Dream* also draws inspiration from Spenser's *The Shepherd's*

Calendar. Chettle's incorporation of the printing house into the world of Kind Heart and his ghostly companions begins on the title page where the ghosts claim to have written their letters specifically "*to / be publiſht*".[25] Spenser's *Calendar* is also overseen by an agent, the fictitious editor "E.K.". His role in the *Calendar* consists of providing "Gloſſe, or ſcholion, for thexpoſition of old vvords...that by meanes of ſome familiar acquain- /tance I vvas made priuie to his [the author's] counſell and ſecret meaning in them" (∴iiiv, 1, 7-8).[26] E.K.'s role in the transmission of Spenser's text would be familiar to Chettle and is echoed in his own fictitious textual caretaker, Kind Heart. Constructing "*The Dreame.*" section as a story of textual transmission, Chettle goes a step further than Spenser by making Kind Heart implicitly involved in the text's publication. Having previously approached the "Cariar" [carrier] of Pierce Penniless to print their letters, the ghosts are refused because the printer "had almoſt hazarded his credit in hell,by / beeing a Broker betweene Pierce Penileſſe and his / Lord" (B3v, 7, 18-20). Rejected by the printer, the ghosts charge Kind Heart to take their letters and "publiſh them to the world" (B3v, 24-5). While Kind Heart's success as a publisher is implied in the existence of the pamphlet itself, by promising that he read the letters "before I preſumed to / make them publicke" Kind Heart can also be seen behaving as a publishing stationer reviewing his text (B4r, 10-1). By documenting his role in the textual transmission, for example, by explaining its origins, conveying the wishes of the authors that it be published, and acknowledging his roles as editor and publisher, Kind Heart authorises the pamphlet in a manner similar to Chettle's prefaces for Munday. In this way, the world of printing house publication infiltrates the fictional world of Chettle's satire.

While Chettle used his knowledge of printing to support the work of other writers, it is evident that his experience as a printer left a lasting imprint on his own writing. Examples from Chettle's work reveal that his printing house training did not only make him aware of the physical constructs of printed books but also that he found inspiration in the literary works in East's repertoire. As this section of Chapter One has shown, analysis of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* reveals new connections between Chettle's writing and the texts he encountered while he was still an apprentice in East's house. Chettle's *imitatio* of characters and elements of Spenser's text shows Chettle looking to East's repertoire, the first library he may have had sustained access to, as a

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[25] Their eagerness provides contrast to Chettle, whose observation that "*To come in print is not to ſeeke praiſe, but to craue pardon*" (A3r, 19-21) suggests a (feigned?) reluctance to publication.

[26] Thank you to Hannah Crawforth for alerting me to the significance of this aspect of the *Shepherd's Calendar*.

possible source for details and models of literary styles and constructs. Furthermore, the similarities between *England's Mourning Garment* and *The Shepherd's Calendar,* a text encountered when he was supposed to be learning the technical skills of a compositor, suggests that, even at this early stage, Chettle was already thinking as both a stationer and a writer. In addition, Chettle's use of printing house images in *Hoffman, Groatsworth, Saffron Walden,* and especially the textual narrative of *Kind Heart's Dream* through its fictional publisher Kind Heart confirm that Chettle saw the printing house itself as a place of stories, characters, and images. As a writer in the printing house, Chettle saw publication not only as a series of mechanical processes but also as a creative lens for examining and explaining the world around him. As a result, publication is as natural a feature in the writer's fiction as it is in the prefaces of the stationer.

In examining the subtle distinctions between "Chettle the printer" and "Chettle the writer", it quickly becomes clear that Chettle never completely abandons one identity for the other. Whether writing as "H.C. Printer" or as the author of *Kind Heart's Dream*, Chettle is never exclusively a writer or a stationer, rather his work incorporates both professional worlds in whatever combination shows his work to its best advantage. Overall, the texts studied so far in this chapter reveal a compatibility between Chettle's skills as a writer and a printer that is simultaneously fluid and variable according to the needs of a specific text. As a result, Chettle resists any fixed model that suggests the roles of writer and stationer should be studied as separate entities. With this in mind, the next section considers the impact that Chettle's writing and printing backgrounds had on his most controversial work.

1.3 Collective Agency and *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*

The most sustained example of Chettle's dual agencies in a single textual space, *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* is also the most textually complex. In 1969, Warren Austin conducted an authorship test on *Groatsworth* by comparing usage rates for ten classes of language variables with identical rates in writing samples of Robert Greene and Henry Chettle. Published as *A Computer-Aided Technique for Stylistic Discrimination: The Authorship of Greene's Groatsworth of Wit,* Austin's results repeatedly identified higher rates of Chettle's writing preferences over Greene's.[27] While acknowledging a number of shortcomings in

[27] A summary of Austin's results (ix-xi) can be found in Appendix B of D. Allen Carroll's edition of *Greene's Groastworth of Wit (1592) Attributed to Henry Chettle and Robert Greene.* New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (1994).

Austin's methodology, particularly his failure to take into account "the kind of intervention Chettle might innocently make as the text's scribe", John Jowett supported Austin's conclusion that "there remains a hard core of impressive evidence for Chettle's authorship of *Groatsworth*" ("Notes" 386-87). Jowett's ultimate concern is how Chettle's authorship changes the way we read the most famous part of *Groatsworth:* the letter to the playwrights and its memorable depictions of Shakespeare as an "up= / ſtart Crow" and a "Iohannes fac totum" (F1v, 24-5, 28). This dissertation agrees with Austin's and Jowett's assertion of the "pervasive presence of Chettle's hand in the Groatsworth" ("Factotum" 457). However, I diverge from Jowett's position with regards to viewing the text of *Groatsworth* as a forgery, particularly his description of Chettle's use of the "Johannes Factotum" allusion as an "unconsciously left … trace of his own activity as a stationer" ("Factotum" 483). To describe Chettle's contribution in this way is to assume that his is operating only as a writer within this textual space. As we have seen in the previous examples from his repertoire, the textual space of Chettle's work is consistently influenced by the collective agency of both his writing and publication sensibilities. It is at this point that single-agent models of textual authority fail to accommodate the collective agency inherent in early modern texts like *Groatsworth* and multifaceted individuals like Chettle. This is not to suggest that Chettle's writing does not dominate *Groatsworth*, but the pool of evidence from the rest of his printing repertoire begs consideration of the extent and impact of Chettle's stationer agency on *Groatsworth's* complicated textual narrative.

Evidence of Chettle's influence on this text as a stationer begins with the *Stationers' Register* entry for 20 September 1592 in which William Wright "Entred for his copie, … vppon the perill of Henrye Chettle / a booke intituled / GREENES Groatsworth of wyt" (Arber II, 620). The distinction between Wright's role and the proviso that it be printed at Chettle's "perill" may come from the fact that Wright was not a publishing printer but a bookseller (McKerrow 1913: 303). As such it is unlikely that Wright would do any more than sell the pamphlet. Thus, the peril which fell to Chettle included liability for any potential future trouble or censorship, but like his character Kind Heart, also included the responsibility of seeing the text through publication. Additional proof that Chettle was closely involved as publisher is found on the *Groatsworth* title page in the appearance of the Latin epitaph *Faelicum fuiſse infauſtum.* This kind of content, according to Peter Blayney, was usually set by the publishing printer ("Publication" 405). As such, appearances of this same epitaph two more times

on the final pages of *Groatsworth* (F3v, F4) and as the closing to Chettle's dedicatory epistle for his *England's Mourning Garment* (Aiiv, 10) consistently link this phrase with Chettle. Moreover, Chettle is the only common denominator between the texts, making him the most logical source of this epitaph and confirming the presence of his printing house agency in *Groatsworth.* Chettle's contributions as a publishing agent of *Groatsworth* prompts reconsideration of his overall influence on the text of the pamphlet and particularly his own account of his role in the publication.

Chettle's stationer agency takes on an additional, yet familiar, role in *Groatsworth*. In his epistle "To the Gentlemen Readers" in *Kind Heart's Dream* (A3-A4v), Chettle tries to diffuse allegations of his authorship of *Groatsworth* by describing his role in preparing the text for publication as "I *writ it ouer, and / as neare as* I *could, followed the copy*" (A4r, 16-17). Further noting that the copy "was il written, as sometime Greene's hand was none of the best," Chettle argues that the manuscript could not be published as is because "*licenſd it muſt be, ere / it could bee printed which could neuer be if it / might not be read*" (A4r 13-16). Chettle's suggestion that work on the draft was necessary before it could even be considered for publication infuses the *Groatsworth* textual narrative with his experience preparing copy for the press. Austin's and Jowett's work has clearly shown that if anyone's text was ill written it was Chettle's own. As such, the "I" responsible for the manuscript's rewriting is another one of Chettle's fictitious characters from the printing house and, indeed, the entire textual narrative described in *Kind Heart's Dream* becomes a creation of Chettle's imagination. Considering his efforts as a purely writing task minimises this evidence of stationer agency. However, if the preface is considered from a stationer's perspective, Chettle's work on *Groatsworth* is then cleverly authorised as the kinds of activities regularly performed by compositors and correctors. For example in *Mechanic Exercises*, Joseph Moxon describes a "good compositor" as someone who "is ambitious as well to make the meaning of his *Author* intelligent to the *Reader"* (211). As this chapter has already discussed, the compositor's job of interpreting an author's manuscript was a "burden" Chettle had borne many times. Moxon further describes how the compositor "reads his copy with consideration that so he may *get himself into the meaning of the Author*, and consequently considers how to order his Work" (211-212).[28] To Moxon, composing is an exercise in actively reproducing and, when necessary, revising in the style of the author. In other words, a good compositor is expected to impersonate his writer. Such concerted imitation is not dissimilar from Chettle's intentions for

[28] My emphasis.

Greene's alleged draft when he claims to eliminate "*what then in conſcience I thought he* [Greene] *in ſome dif- / pleaſure writ*" (A4r, 9-10). As in Moxon's description, Chettle combines his text and his knowledge of Greene to construct his author character's "Greenean" textual persona, what Jowett describes as an "imagined representation of him" ("Factotum" 482). This kind of approach in the hands of a writer like Chettle, who believed that "*nothing can be ſaid, that hath not been / before ſaid*", shows how writing and this kind of editorial imitation become obscured beyond recognition (*Kind Heart's Dream* A3r, 15-16). The impact of such an assimilation of writer and stationer sensibilities on the preparation of a manuscript might produce the sort of "ubiquitous" attribution Jowett identifies in the *Groatsworth* as "Chettle passing himself off as Greene" ("Notes" 387; "Factotum" 481). As a result, Chettle's stationer agency can be located alongside his writing in both critical and contemporary narratives of *Groatsworth's* publication. Reading Chettle's preface in this way highlights the necessity of acknowledging the collective agency of Chettle as writer and stationer in *Groatsworth*. To this end, it becomes difficult to qualify Chettle's role in terms of a singular function. Rather, this preface contends that, as elsewhere in his printed repertoire, Chettle brought both his writing and stationer skills to the text. As a result, *Groatsworth* is another textual space in which Chettle's dual agencies collectively contribute to his creative efforts. In fact, the role of the writer and the stationer in this textual space have merged to such an extent that it may be wiser to consider Chettle's agency here as a new textual persona. Overall, the interaction between Chettle's writing and stationer agencies throughout his printed repertoire indicates that this multifaceted style was a fundamental part of Chettle's approach to publication. In short, Chettle's agency becomes the embodiment of the adaptable, collaborative space associated with the early modern playbooks studied in this dissertation.

The collective agency of writing and publication exhibited throughout Chettle's repertoire provides a bridge between two agencies traditionally considered incongruent in studies of early modern literature. While this evidence may not exonerate Chettle of exceeding the boundaries of authorial propriety, it does suggest that the unique condition of writer attribution in *Groatsworth* may be the result of Chettle's equally unique background in writing and printing. As such it is more than just another tale of piracy in the early modern printing house but an intriguing indication of the possibilities for variation of textual authority in early modern printed texts. The consistent proximity of Chettle's dual agencies to his writing and publishing observed so far prompts

reconsideration of perhaps his most famous collaborative contribution to an early modern text: the descriptive stage directions in Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*. As this chapter has already suggested, focusing on a single textual agent only provides part of the story. To get a more complete understanding of Chettle's contributions to this quarto, we must consider Chettle's work in conjunction with Q1's publisher and Chettle's long time associate, John Danter.

Part 2 - John Danter

1.4 Danter the ~~Pirate~~ Printer

Before tackling the textual collaboration between Chettle and Danter in Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*, I shall consider Danter's approaches to publication and collaboration more generally. Like many of the stationers discussed in this dissertation, Danter is known primarily for his publication of the first quarto of one of Shakespeare's most famous plays. Danter received particular attention in the twentieth century when New Bibliography turned its analytical focus to early editions. However, the results of this enquiry did not bode well for Danter's modern reputation. Among A.W. Pollard's findings in his 1909 study, *Shakespeare's Folios and Quartos,* Pollard described the textual transmission of Danter's Q1 *Romeo* as a series of questionable events. From the shady procurement of an unauthorised manuscript that was possibly a memorial reconstruction to the conspicuous lack of a legitimising entry in the *Stationers' Register*, Pollard concluded that the production of such a "surreptitiously published", "bad" quarto could only be the work of a disreputable printer (*Shakespeare's Folios* 65, 69). As such, Pollard memorably added that, as the mastermind of this quarto, Danter was nothing less than "the first of the Shakespeare pirates" (*Shakespeare's Folios* 69). Additional research into Danter's background did not improve his reputation in the eyes of New Bibliographers who were already inclined to be skeptical of stationers and their printing house practices. The appearance of Danter's name in multiple court records involving illicit publications were described by H.R. Plomer as "a whirlwind of official indignation and Star-Chamber shrieks" that was characteristic of Danter's whole career ("Printers" 153). That the final of these illicit exchanges resulted in the closing of Danter's printing house and appeared to have taken place during the printing of Q1 *Romeo,* did little to convince critics otherwise. However, this dissertation argues that

textual transmission is a variable process. Thus, the practices of any agent associated with the playhouse or the printing house must be assessed through evidence across a repertoire of texts. To this end, the study of John Danter that follows will construct a profile of his printing house practices by examining a combination of textual and literary evidence from dramatic and non-dramatic works across Danter's publication output. Examining Danter's approach to the technical elements of printing and his interactions with writers and readers in multiple texts offers a broader portrait of Danter's publication practices within which to reconsider the textual narrative of Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*. After gaining a sense of *Romeo and Juliet's* function within Danter's larger publication project, Chettle's and Danter's individual contributions to the playbook will be evaluated within Q1's textual space.

John Danter's printing career began in September 1582, when he was apprenticed to the printer John Day (Arber II, 114). Bound to one of the founding and foremost members of the Stationers' Company in the 1580s, who was also known for the high quality of his publications, Danter was favourably positioned for an impressive education.[29] However, Danter's career trajectory changed dramatically when Day died only two years into Danter's training in July 1584. On Day's death, the business and his apprentices were left in the charge of Day's widow. However, widow Day did not continue the family business. Harry Hoppe observes that, as a result of her lack of interest, "her supervision of her deceased husband's apprentices must have been only nominal" (18). This minimal guidance may have led to Danter's ending up on the wrong side of a Star Chamber suit in which John Day's son Richard accused the stationer Roger Ward, and multiple accomplices including Danter, of illegally printing several titles he had inherited from his father (Greg *Court* lxii, 20, 21). As a result of his involvement, Danter, along with Gilbert Lee and Thomas Dunne, was prohibited by the Guild from ever holding the position of master printer. The severity of the language in the decision reflects the potential impact this determination would have on his livelihood and income:

> […] shall fromhenceforth be Dyshabled to prynte, otherwyse then as Iourneymen in pryntinge, & shall never hereafter keepe any printinge howse to their or any of their owne behoof / but be vtterlie barred therefrom (Greg *Court* 21).

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[29] The most comprehensive study of Danter and his work is Chiaki Hanabusa's unpublished dissertation, *John Danter's Play Quartos: A Bibliographical and Textual Study* (2000). Harry Hoppe's *The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet: A Bibliographical and Textual Study* (1948) still offers valuable background on John Day.

It would be four years before Danter was officially bound to a new master, Robert Robinson, for the final year of his apprenticeship before taking his freedom in 1589 (Arber II, 151, 706). The uncertainty of Danter's training in those formative years between Day's death and his official transfer to Robinson, particularly his role in the illicit publication of Day's titles, are the base of Danter's modern reputation as an unlawful printer. However, Chiaki Hanabusa reminds us that there is "no documentary evidence concerning the actual details of Danter's misdemeanours" (21).[30] The Company's Court records offer no knowledge of Danter's particular role in the operation nor his general enthusiasm for the illegal printing with which he is readily identified. Furthermore, in spite of his obvious difficulties as an apprentice and his early censure, Danter successfully obtained his freedom from the guild a year early (Arber II, 151), was allowed a few years later to go into partnership with Hoskins and Chettle, and six years after his involvement in the Day printings, was printing and publishing under his own name.

From the dissolution of his partnership with Hoskins and Chettle in 1592, Danter's publication repertoire covered many of the popular genres of ephemeral print including sermons, plays, satires, medical tracts, pamphlets offering questionable cures for the plague (most requiring the use of vinegar), and language textbooks. His non-dramatic repertoire displays a broad spectrum in terms of the readerships his books attempted to engage. Encompassing the highly ornate *Egluryn Phraethineb or Exposition of Eloquence* (STC 19775, 1595), a book on rhetoric written in Welsh and dedicated to Elizabeth I, translations and retellings of chivalrous histories such as Anthony Munday's *The Second Booke of Primaleon* (STC 20366a, 1596) and Christopher Middleton's *The Famous Historie of Chinon of England* (STC 17866, 1597), down to the pamphlet *Good Councell Against the Plague* (STC 5871.4, 1592) in which an anonymous physician offers the "perfect cure" necessary for "euery Housholder", Danter's repertoire appeared to have something for nearly every taste. However, Danter is best known for his dramatic publications. Over his short six-year career, Danter was involved with the printing and/or publication of nine commercial plays. Three of these plays, Danter printed for other stationers: *The Old Wives Tale* (STC 19545, 1595), *The Cobbler's Prophecy* (STC 25781, 1594), and *Fair Em* (STC 7675, [1591?]).[31] The remaining six, *The Three Ladies of London*

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[30] See also Cyril Judge *Elizabethan Book-Pirates* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1934) pp. 61-89 esp. 88.

[31] Date from DEEP.

(STC 25785, 1592), *The Life and Death of Jack Straw* (STC 23356, 1593), *Titus Andronicus* (STC 22328, 1594), *The Wounds of Civil War, or Marius and Scilla* (STC 16678, 1594), *Orlando Furioso* (STC 12265, 1594), and *Romeo and Juliet,* (STC 22322, 1597) he printed and published himself, selling them out of his own shop on Duck Lane or through various booksellers. A key component of Danter's reputation as an Elizabethan book pirate was his failure to record his publication of Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* in the *Stationers' Register*. Peter Blayney's "Publication of Playbooks" determined that title assignment in the register, while protecting the ownership of a publisher, was not legally required ("Publication" 404). Hanabusa agreed with Blayney's conclusion and further argued that "non-entrance does not provide a certain basis for illegal printing" (40). Hanabusa also examined Danter's overall record of registering titles and found that 60.5% of all Danter's extant publications were in fact entered by himself or others: a significant percentage for a voluntary act (40). Furthermore, Hanabusa points out that in 1594, when Danter was responsible for a quarter of all dramatic publications printed in London, he secured rights to all but one of these quartos in the *Stationers' Register* (40, 337). The one exception was *The Cobbler's Prophecy,* which was entered in the *Register* by Cuthbert Burbie.[32] With Maureen Bell determining in her article "Entrance in the *Stationers' Register*" that only 53.6% of all first editions printed between 1594-96 were recorded in the *Register*, Danter is well above average for confirming his rights to publish (51).[33] Danter's first entries in the *Stationers' Register* are for two of the Company's "poor books": *Instruction of a Christian Woman* (STC 24863, 1592) and Golding's translation of Ovid's *The XV. Books of the Metamorphosis* (STC 18960, 1593). That Danter is bequeathed such titles, typically reserved for "needy printers", twice in his short career, suggests that, with his repertoire of low cost, quick turn around pamphlets and quartos, Danter struggled to keep his business afloat (Greg *Court* 42; Hanabusa 23). Such evidence would make Danter a likely candidate for Blayney's class of less reputable printers who would subsequently have little time to care about quality or cater to the needs of writers. However, there is textual and literary evidence across Danter's printing and publishing outputs documenting how, in spite of his apparent hardships, Danter was in fact a stationer who engaged professionally and productively with writers and readers.

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[32] Danter printed five out of the twenty quartos from that year: *Titus Andronicus, Wounds of Civil War, Orlando Furioso, The Life and Death of Jack Straw,* and *The Cobbler's Prophecy.*

[33] See also Greg *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford, 1956) 68, which determined that "a third of the copies actually printed were unregistered" (68), but, whereas Bell drew her sample from entire years in the *SR*, Greg's samples were smaller and more subjectively selected.

1.5 Danter and His Writers

In *Kind Heart's Dream,* Chettle brought the world of the printing house into his writing by featuring his ghostly writers' search for a publisher. In an intriguing coincidence, the anonymous writer of the university play, *The Second Part of The Return from Parnassus* (STC 19309, 19310, 1606) also depicts this business transaction between writer and stationer. In Act one, Scene three, the fictitious writer, "*Ingenioſo*" hurries to St. Paul's Churchyard to sell his manuscript,"A Chronicle of *Cambri*[d]*ge* Cuckolds" to none other than "Danter the Printer" (1.3.356, 1.3.335-36; B3v, 3, 17). After a brief negotiation in which the self-affirmed Ingenioso explains the high costs of "keeping of a good wit" (1.3.350-1; B3v, 11-2) such as his, Danter agrees to buy the manuscript. After his initial offering of "40 ſhillings and an odde pottle of wine" is rejected, Danter declares "Ile haueit whatſoeuer it / coſt" and agrees to Ingenioso's price (1.3.344, 362-63; B3v, 6, 22-3). The scene ends with printer and writer amicably heading off to "ſit ouer a cup of / wine and agree on it" (363-64; B3v, 23-4). While the critical apparatus of J.B. Leishman's edition introduces Danter in his footnote as "a rather disreputable printer", the scene is surprisingly free of pirates and piracy (246 nt. 329). Leishman himself weakens his image of the swindling stationer squeezing the poor writer by glossing Danter's offer of 40 shillings as "the usual price for a pamphlet" (248 nt. 344).[34] In fact, judging from Danter's unbridled determination to buy the manuscript "whatsoeuer it cost", it is the printer, rather than the writer, who is in danger of getting ripped off. Also contrary to Leishman's assessment is Danter's reasonable and congenial behaviour throughout the scene. In a manner neither disreputable nor very pirate-like, Danter not only negotiates with his writer but also celebrates the transaction with him over a drink. While *Parnassus* is a work of fiction, this contemporary representation and its contradiction of modern scholarship's impression of Danter as a "disreputable" and "illicit" stationer compels us to reconsider Danter's interactions with the writers he published. The closing address to Danter's most elaborate publication, *Egluryn Phraethineb* or the *Exposition of Eloquence* (STC 19775, 1595) contains a first-hand account of Danter's attitude to writers in his printing house. Danter begins by admitting to readers that because *Exposition,* including his own dedication, is written entirely in Welsh he could only publish the book "as far as it lay within my power" (Ffiiv; Hanabusa 349). Danter offers as an additional condition that the publication "cannot be in such an

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[34] cf. "*John Birkenhead (1615-79)"* in *Brief Lives Chiefly of Contemporaries, Set Down by John Aubrey, Between Years 1669 and 1696.* ed. Clark, vol 1, 105. Clarendon Press, 1898.

excellent state as it would have been, if god had seen to it that the author was present at the printing" (Ffiiv; Hanabusa 349).[35] In short, the practical complications of producing a text written in Welsh led Danter to wish the author was present during printing. This dedication suggests that Danter considered writers, with their particular expertise, beneficial to the quality of their publications. In addition, Danter's particular desire to have the writer present "at the printing" implies an in-house collaboration between writer and stationer that is usually only considered in instances of writers like Ben Jonson who insist on being actively involved in the publication of their work. Danter's statement suggests that stationers could also prefer more direct collaboration with their writers during publication. Additional evidence of Danter working with writers in his printing house confirms this interest in writer/printer co-operation.

In his 1596 publication, *Have with You to Saffron Walden or Garbriel Harvey's Hunt is Up* (STC 18369, 1596), Thomas Nashe recounts spending so much time living with Danter and his family that when Gabriel Harvey describes Mrs. Danter as a scold, Nashe counters by declaring "in all the time I haue lyne / in her Houſe, and as long as I haue knowen her, I ne / uer ſaw anie ſuch thing by her" (S1r 2, 5-8). Nashe is equally protective of Danter: "my Prin- / ter", Nashe declares, "ſhall ſuſtain no damage by me" (R4v, 27-28). He further counters Harvey's condemning of Danter's business as a "*Scar-crow Preſſe"* by vowing that the combined force of Danter's press and Nashe's words "will *ſcare & crow* ouer the beſt Preſſe in *London,* that / ſhall Print a Reply to This" (R4v, 27-31). Nashe's testimony presents an intriguing image of Danter as a welcoming home for the writer and his text. Equally significant is the reciprocal nature of this relationship. In a time when Chettle claims the custom was for writers to blame their printers, Nashe claims Danter as "my Printer" and defends him against slanders that he incurred by publishing Nashe's work. Furthermore, Nashe's threat that Danter will "*scare & crow* ouer the beſt Preſſe in *London*" suggests Nashe is confident that his printer will likewise defend him. A possible source of Nashe's faith in his relationship with Danter can be found in evidence of typographical care in Danter's printing of *Saffron Walden*.

Examples from across Danter's printing output display evidence of what H.R. Woudhuysen describes as "expressive typography" or moments of creative and often ingenious type setting ("Foundations" 79). Occasionally, these typographical flourishes

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[35] Equally of a "foreign race and … without any understanding of the language" the author is grateful for the English translation of the address by Dr. Charles Parry included in Hanabusa's unpublished dissertation (348-9).

are merely ornamental. For example, the "A signature" page from Danter's publication of *Greene's Funeralls* (STC 1487, 1594) is comprised entirely of a large "A" framed by four double rows of printer's flowers forming what amounts to a bold early modern dust jacket. (Figure 1.1)

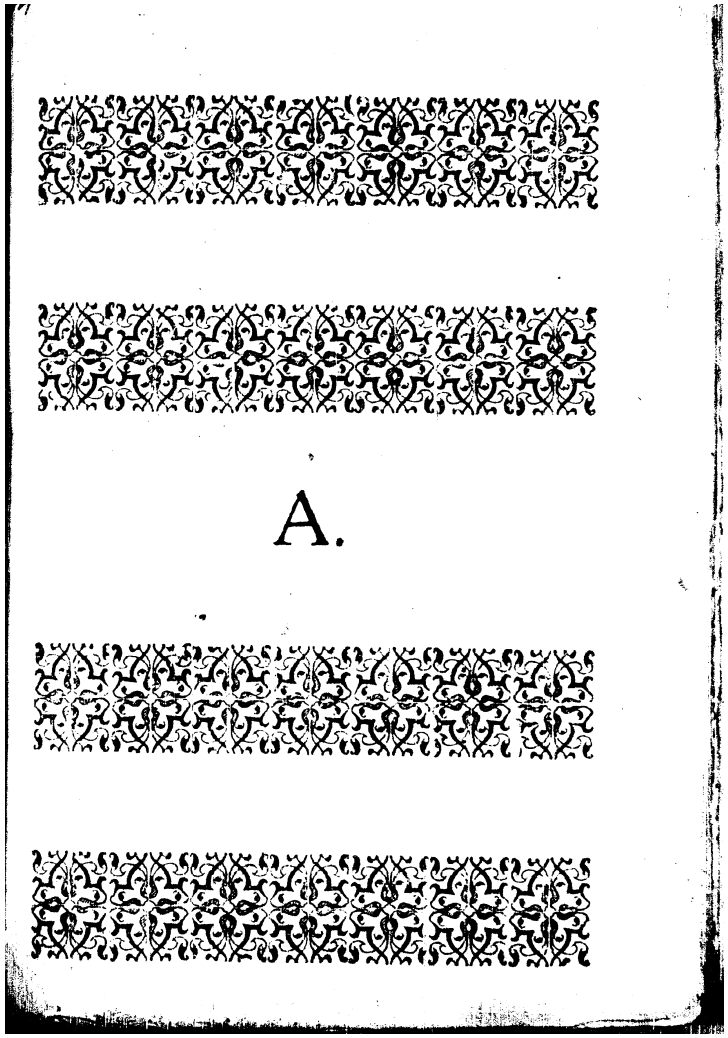
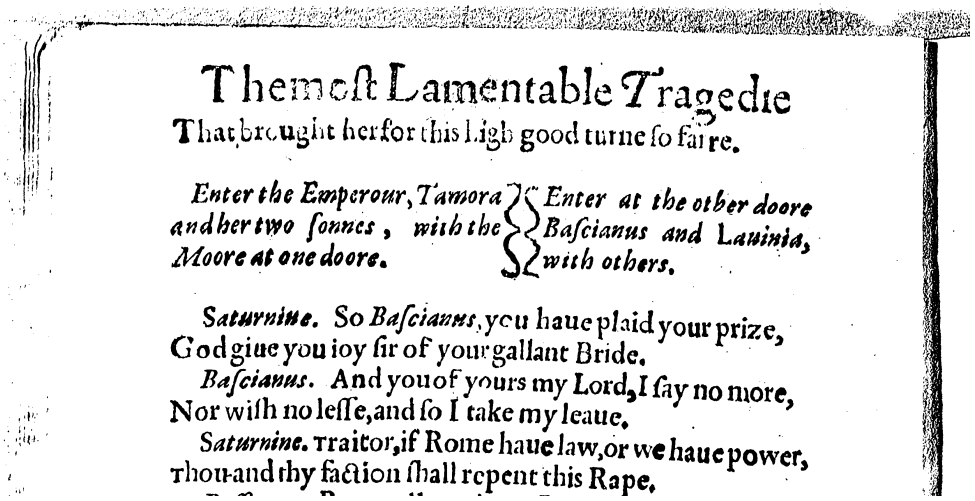


Figure 1.1 "A" Signature page from *Greene's Funerals* (1594).

More significant are when such creative choices coincide with visual moments suggested by the text. In Danter's publication of *Titus Andronicus,* entrances at 1.1 from opposite sides of the stage of "*Emperour, Tamora / and her two ſonnes, with the / moore*" and "*Baſciannus and* L*auinia, / with others*" are distinguished by a pair of brackets separating the two groups of text. Setting the brackets nose-to nose } { , mimics the groups movements across the stage while symbolising the head to head confrontation about to take place (C1v, 445-47). (See Figure 1.2)



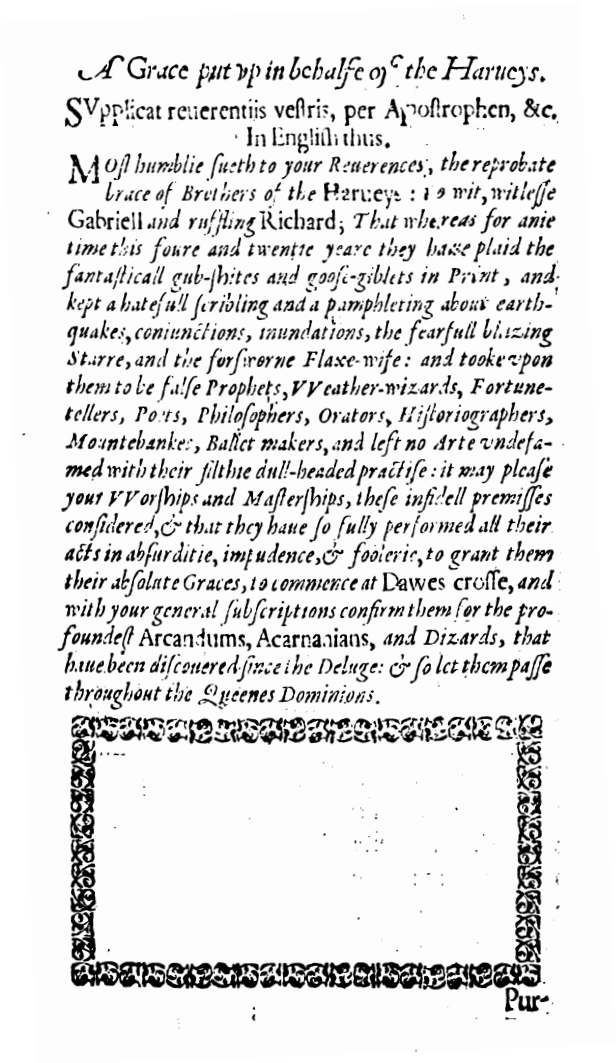
The moſt Lamentable Tragedie
That brought her for this high good turne ſo farre.

Enter the Emperour, Tamora and her two ſonnes, with the Moore at one doore. } *Enter at the other doore Baſcianus and Lauinia, with others.*

Saturnine. So *Baſcianus*, you haue plaid your prize,
God giue you ioy ſir of your gallant Bride.
Baſcianus. And you of yours my Lord, I ſay no more,
Nor wiſh no leſſe, and ſo I take my leaue.
Saturnine. Traitor, if Rome haue law, or we haue power,
Thou and thy faction ſhall repent this Rape.

Figure 1.2 Brackets (C1v) in *Titus Andronicus* (1594).

Moments of coordination between text and typography are also found in Danter's publication of *Saffron Walden*, suggesting a similar interest in the visual presentation of Nashe's text. *Saffron Walden* is an animated dialogue of rhetorical vitriol in which Nashe's enthusiasm for insulting Gabriel Harvey often escapes the confines of its text. It is these moments where Nashe extends himself from linguistic into visual expression that the success of the Nashe/Danter collaboration comes to the fore. Nashe's epistle includes "*A Grace put vp in behalfe of the Harueys*" in which Nashe implores the brothers to make amends for their endless "defaming" by conducting a progress of penance throughout the country (B3v). The appeal is followed by a large empty box at the bottom of the page made of printer's flowers. Not to be mistaken for a space wasting device, Nashe immediately explains that the purpose of this box is so "as manie as I / ſhall perſwade they [the Harveys] are *Pachecoes*, *Poldauiſſes*, / and *Dringles*, may ſet their hands to their de- / finitiue ſentence" (B4r, 1-4). (See Figure 1.3)



A Grace put vp in behalfe of the Harueys.

SVpplicat reuerentiis veſtris, per Apoſtrophen, &c.

In English thus.

MOſt humblie ſueth to your Reuerences, the reprobate brace of Brothers of the Harueys: to wit, witleſſe Gabriell and ruffling Richard; That whereas for anie time this foure and twentie yeare they haue plaid the fantaſticall gub-ſhites and gooſe-giblets in Print, and kept a hateſull ſcribling and a pamphleting about earth-quakes, coniunctions, inundations, the fearfull blazing Starre, and the forſworne Flaxe-wife: and tooke vpon them to be falſe Prophets, VVeather-wizards, Fortune-tellers, Poets, Philoſophers, Orators, Hiſtoriographers, Mountebankes, Ballet makers, and left no Arte vndefamed with their filthie dull-headed practiſe: it may pleaſe your VVorſhips and Maſterſhips, theſe infidell premiſſes conſidered, & that they haue ſo fully performed all their acts in abſurditie, impudence, & fooleric, to grant them their abſolute Graces, to commence at Dawes croſſe, and with your general ſubſcriptions confirm them for the profoundeſt Arcandums, Acarnanians, and Dizards, that haue been diſcouered ſince the Deluge: & ſo let them paſſe throughout the Queenes Dominions.

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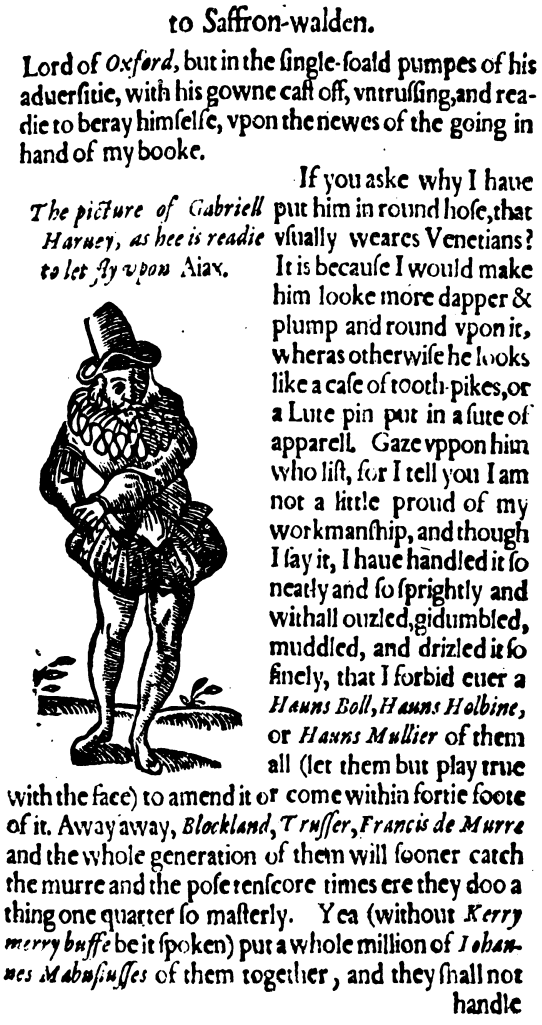
Figure 1.3 “Signature Box” (B3v) from *Have With You to Saffron Walden* (1596).

Without the proper coordination of text and typography, Nashe’s comic moment would no doubt have suffered. Fitting both the text and the box onto the same page adds to the authenticity of Nashe’s “official” petition by giving it the visual appearance of a printed broadside that could be taken out of the book and posted or circulated. In this way, creating the “signature box” and orchestrating its placement in the most effective position suggests a moment of co-operation between Nashe’s writerly creativity and Danter’s printerly expertise. Nashe may have indicated in his manuscript that there was a box, but it was up to Danter and his compositors to agree to incorporate the wishes of the writer into their transmission. The fact that the page is set to accommodate the entire petition and still allow space for a box large enough to hold a number of signatures suggests that Danter was aware of the connection between the box and the

text and put some care into realising Nashe's vision. As a result, the unusual setup of this page stands as evidence of close collaboration between writer and stationer during publication.

Another example of co-operation between Danter's press and Nashe's text occurs a few signatures later when Nashe introduces his reader to "*The picture of Gabriell / Haruey, as hee is readie / to let fly upon Aiax*" (F4r). (See Figure 1.4)



to Saffron-walden.

Lord of *Oxford*, but in the ſingle-ſoald pumpes of his aduerſitie, with his gowne caſt off, vntruſſing, and readie to beray himſelfe, vpon the newes of the going in hand of my booke.

The picture of Gabriell Haruey, as hee is readie to let fly vpon Aiax.

If you aske why I haue put him in round hoſe, that vſually weares Venetians? It is becauſe I would make him looke more dapper & plump and round vpon it, wheras otherwiſe he looks like a caſe of tooth-pikes, or a Lute pin put in a ſute of apparell. Gaze vppon him who liſt, for I tell you I am not a little proud of my workmanſhip, and though I ſay it, I haue handled it ſo neatly and ſo ſprightly and withall ouzled, gidumbled, muddled, and drizled it ſo finely, that I forbid euer a *Hauns Boll*, *Hauns Holbine*, or *Hauns Mullier* of them all (let them but play true with the face) to amend it or come within fortie foote of it. Away away, *Blockland*, *Truſſer*, *Francis de Murre* and the whole generation of them will ſooner catch the murre and the poſe tenſcore times ere they doo a thing one quarter ſo maſterly. Yea (without *Kerry merry buffe* be it ſpoken) put a whole million of *Iohannes Mabuſiuſſes* of them together, and they ſhall not handle

Figure 1.4 "Woodcut of Gabriel Harvey" (F4r)
from *Have With You to Saffron Walden* (1596).

Claiming he drew this image of Harvey "in the ſingle-ſoald pumpes of his aduerſitie" himself, Nashe takes his readers through a careful description of the picture (F4r, 1-2). Evidence of Danter's textual intervention is visible in how Nashe's commentary corresponds with the placement of the image. The text is set so that the first point of

Nashe's explanation, "why I haue / put him in round hoſe" (5-6), begins just as the eye is level with the woodcut. An additional moment of narrative and visual symmetry is seen when Nashe's command, "Gaze vppon him / who liſt" (14-5) occurs just at the middle of the portrait so that readers need only look slightly left to have the perfect view of Harvey in all his splendour. As with the signature box, such correlation between text and image can only be the result of a conscious effort to adapt the technical setting of the page to the details in Nashe's writing. Danter's willingness to forego an easier layout, perhaps setting all the text in one block and inserting the image where there was space, so that Harvey's image could appear at the precise moment it is discussed, is again evidence of the co-operation between printer and writer. Moreover, the layout of this page demonstrates a clear intention on Danter's part, which required a knowledge of details in Nashe's text and an interest in coordinating his compositor's expertise with the work of the writer. In this way, the textual space of *Saffron Walden* is supported by the collective agencies of Nashe and Danter working together to benefit the work as a whole.

In addition to Danter working for Nashe, there is additional evidence which suggests that the writer worked for him. Charles Nicholl posits that while living in Danter's house, "Nashe would almost certainly have worked for his keep, probably in the job known as 'corrector' or 'overseer' of the press" (225).[36] Danter's wish in the dedication to his *Exposition of Eloquence* that the writer was available to share his expertise, in this case his knowledge of Welsh, suggests that Danter would have appreciated having a learned man like Nashe working in his house. Additional proof of this amicable working relationship is inferred in Nicholl's description of Danter's printing of Nashe's *Strange Newes* (STC 18378, 1593). Nicholl's conclusion that "the work was printed piecemeal, with Nashe sending portions to the printer, John Danter, as he wrote" provides yet another example of Danter's ability to accommodate and support his writer (140). Nicholl's observation that "being printed piecemeal, it could be on the bookstalls almost as soon as the writing was finished" offers a reciprocal benefit for Danter as quicker publication, important for topical satire like Nashe's, meant faster return of profit (142). In this way, collaborative publication gains credit as a profitable early modern printing practice. Not merely an idealistic indulgence of creativity, collaboration was, in the most practical sense, good for business.

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[36] This working relationship is also acknowledged by Jowett in "Henry Chettle and the First Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*", *PBSA* 92, (1998), 58.

The above evidence suggests that Danter readily welcomed writers into his printing house. Examples like the Welsh *Exposition of Eloquence* and Nicholl's textual narrative of *Strange Newes* show Danter aware of the benefits of having writers around to help with difficult copytexts and to coordinate the efforts of writer and printer during publication. The characterisation of "Danter the Printer" in *Second Parnassus* and Nashe's depiction of "my printer" share images of the stationer amicably conducting business with writers. However, in his coordination of text and images in *Saffron Walden,* Danter's collaboration moves beyond anecdote to active textual intervention. The textual symmetry in *Saffron Walden* offers visual evidence of collaboration between Nashe and Danter that supports Nashe's description of Danter using his press to support him in his fight with the Harveys. At the same time, these examples of textual collaboration suggest that Danter did in fact work effectively with, and on behalf of, writers. In the final section of this chapter, the collaboration between Danter and Chettle demonstrates that this collaboration was not restricted to a writer's own texts. Before that, we need to consider a final group with whom Danter professionally engaged.

1.6 Danter and his Readers

In his dedication "*To the Gentlemen Readers / Health.*" for his 1594 publication of *Greene's Funeralls* (STC 172.02 & 1487), Danter paints the picture of a model reader:

> GEntle Reader, I once readd of a / King, that diuided the day into / three parts; the Firſt hee ſpent in / Prayer, the Second in hearing of / his Subiects cauſes, and the laſt in / delight and pleaſure of his body:So (Gentle Rea- / der) I hope thou wilt ſpend one daies pleaſure in reading this Pamphlet. (A3, 1-10).

The flattering parallel between a King and his own "Gentle Reader" markets Danter's publication as ideal for men of leisure who, like Danter's King, have the luxury of devoting part of their "daies pleſsure" to reading poetry. Danter frames this picture of his intended reader with further addresses to this particular readership. From his opening invocation to the "Gentle Reader" to Danter's closing wish that his "la- / bour may be acceptable to thee (Gentle Reader)", Danter stresses that this text was made with the gentleman reader in mind. Additional paratextual evidence across Danter's repertoire also points to a focus on gentle readers. A year into owning his own printing house, Danter dedicated his publication of Henrie Smith's *God's Arrow Against Atheists* (STC 22666,1593) to the Lady Katherine Hayward, wife of Sir Rowland Hayward, an

alderman of the city of London. In 1597 he again dedicated an edition to a specific "gentle reader", this time the chivalrous quest story *Chinon of England,* to Lord Edward Stanley.[37] When possible, Danter is also keen to highlight the similar status of his readers and his writers. For example, the title page of *Greene's Funeralls* notes the author as "R.B. *Gent.*". Danter also makes a point of informing his readers that R.B. was not a professional writer, rather, that the poems were written merely as "his priuate ſtudy at idle times" (A3r, 14). Danter's further insistence that the poems were published "contrarie to the Au- / thours expectation" (A3r, 12-13) expresses the appropriate amount of gentlemanly disdain for publication fashionable at the time. Thus, by connecting leisure writing to leisure reading, Danter presents suitable gentlemen writers to his gentlemen readers.

This connection between gentlemen writers and readers features throughout Danter's publication repertoire. Danter's output includes multiple works by many university educated writers. Robert Greene, Robert Wilson, George Peele, Thomas Lodge and Thomas Nashe figure prominently and repeatedly in Danter's repertoire. The tendency of these writers to showcase their educations in their frequent use of Latin and other classical languages, and their *imitatio* of classical themes and rhetorical styles in their satires and dramas, may have been seen by Danter as the right mixture of erudition and recreation for the pleasure of his desired readers. Like the poet R.B., several of Danter's other writers are further identified by their gentleman status. Thomas Lodge is listed on the title page of Danter's edition of *The Wounds of Civil War* as "Gent.". On the title page of his translation of *2 Primaleon,* Anthony Munday is identified as "*A. M.* / one of the meſſengers of her Ma- / ieſties Chamber": Danter taking more letters to describe Munday's position at court than the writer's name.[38] Danter's tendency to publicise the credentials of his writers was noted by Thomas Nashe who, in *Strange Newes*, observed how "M. Printer" has "intaile a vaine title to my name" (I2v, 1). The vain title being the designation "Gentleman". To a stationer like Danter who published and often sold his own books, the title page was more than a vehicle for flattering his writers. This was also a stationer's first, and maybe only, opportunity to convince browsers to buy. As such, Danter's concern with stressing the

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[37] According to the title page, *Chinon* was printed by Danter for the stationer Cuthbert Burby; however, it is Danter who includes the preface where he claims that he, rather than the author or Burby, decided that the text was worthy of publication and dedication.

[38] The title page notes that the text was printed by Danter for Cuthbert Burby. However, Chettle's relationship with Munday, the presence of Munday's motto and prefaces, and the preface written by Chettle more strongly suggest Danter and his connections than Burby's.

status of these writers should be read as a continued effort to attract gentlemen readers by connecting them to writers of the same social class. The frequency with which these allusions appear in Danter's publications suggest that the gentleman reader was a particular niche market for Danter's business. As such, it is worthwhile to consider how other emerging patterns in his repertoire might also be part of this market strategy.

Besides writing dedications and other paratextual addresses to his readers, Danter took advantage of the emerging market of printed playbooks to expand the offerings for his target readership. Hanabusa has pointed out how Danter embraced play publication with particular enthusiasm, producing one quarter of all the new plays published in 1594 (40). Thematic similarities across a collection of Danter's plays suggest that he saw drama as another point of connection between his output and his gentleman readers. Shakespeare and Peele's *Titus Andronicus* is driven by the escalating bloody revenge of Saturnine and Tamora against Titus and his family. Lodge's *The Wounds of Civil War* subtitled *The True Tragedies of Marius and Scilla* is likewise a bitter battle for control of the Roman Empire, and the anonymous *The Life and Death of Jack Straw* depicts an uprising against a young King John. In each case, these popular dramas play out the violence and destruction enacted upon a land in the throes of civil war. The last civil conflict on English soil, the War of the Roses was brought to an end with the defeat of Richard III by Henry Tudor (later Henry VII) at the battle of Bosworth field in 1485. In Danter's time, this civil conflict was most commonly memorialised in chronicles and plays as the glorious beginnings of the Tudor dynasty. Unlike the English history plays that mark this period of civil war in patriotic pageants glorifying victories over vice-like enemies, such as Richard III and Margaret of Anjou, the "she-wolf of France" (*3H6* 1.4.111), Danter's civil war plays do not invoke fond nationalist nostalgia:

> Brute beaſts nill breake the mutuall law of loue,
> And birds affection will not violate,
> The ſenceles trees haue concord mongſt themſelues,
> And ſtones agree in linkes of amitie,
> If they my Scilla brooke not to haue iarre,
> What then are men that gainſt themſelues doo warre?
> (*Wounds* 1.1.274-279; B1v-B2r).[39]

Marc Anthony's speech from *Wounds of Civil War* condemns internal acts of aggression as a violation of natural law, "the mutual law of loue" in which no other living creatures

[39] Signature and line numbers for *Wounds of Civil War* refer to The Malone Society Reprint (1910) edited by J. Dover Wilson.

partake. As such he defines civil war as a dehumanising event. The anonymous writer of *Jack Straw* also stressed the unnatural condition of civil war. Foreseeing that an uprising of commoners will force the King to battle his own people, the courtier Sir John Morton laments that "Engliſhmen to trouble England thns [sic]" is nothing short of "inſeſt to the Land" (C4v, 607-08).[40] The incest image combines the idea of the unnatural with the sense of a forced surrender of the land's wholesomeness. This coerced upheaval and subsequent destruction is echoed in the final scene of *Titus Andronicus* when an unnamed Roman lord steps forward amidst the carnage of the bloody banquet to lament that Rome "whome mightie kindgomes curſie too, / Like a forlorne and deſperate caſt away, / Doe ſhamefull execution upon her selfe" (5.3.73-5; K3r, 13-5). In Danter's dramatic quartos, for countrymen to war against each other is tantamount to the death of the nation.[41]

With their condemnation of civil war as "unnatural", Danter's dramas stand in sharp contrast to history plays like Shakespeare's first and second tetralogies which claim "civil wounds are stopped" with their victories because they will "Enrich the time to come with smooth-faced peace, / With smiling plenty, and fair, prosperous days" (*R3* 5.5. 40, 33-34).[42] Danter's plays, on the other hand, reject the idea that the price paid in lives and suffering will be worth the future they create. *Wounds* and *Titus* do not attempt to wash away the deaths that were the price of their outcomes. Loss and despair are brought to the fore when young Peter mourns over the body of his grandfather wishing "VVould I were dead ſo you did liue againe", while one of *Wounds'* final images similarly reveals Fulvia "clad in blacke & mournfull pale / Will waight vpon her fathers funerall" (*Titus* L1r, 4; *Wounds* K3v, 2621-22). In these plays, the end of civil war is not a time of promise and rebirth but a mournful look back at the losses which will be felt long after the war is ended. Evidence that Danter himself read in these plays such a commentary on the aftermath of civil war can be seen in the different titles used on the title page and running titles of *Wounds*. (See Figure 1.5) Where the title page boldly announces in its largest type "THE / WOVNDS / of Ciuill VVar", the running titles use only its subtitle: "*The true Tragedies of / Marius and Scilla*". Such variation suggests it is the "wounds" or memorial scars, and not the tragic deaths of the title characters, that Danter sees as the most promising selling point of the play.

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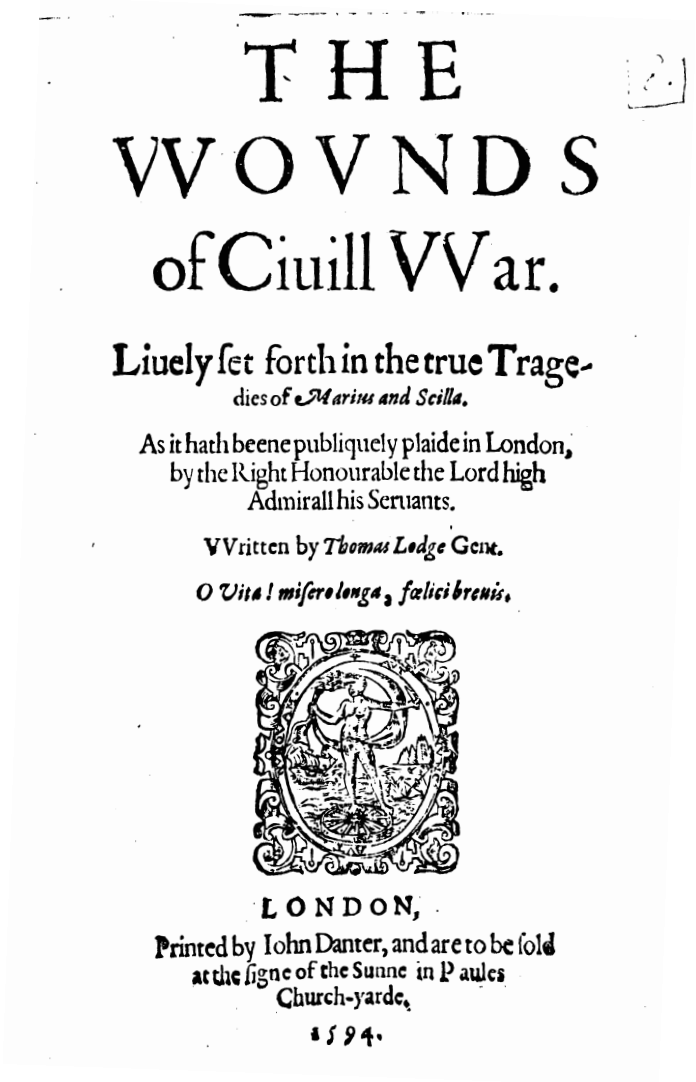
[40] Signature and line numbers for *The Life and Death of Jack Straw 1594.* refer to The Malone Society Reprints edition (1957) edited by Kenneth Muir.

[41] Act/line/scene numbers for *Titus* refer to Jonathan Bate's Arden 3 edition (2006). Signatures refer to Malone Society's edition of Q1 edited by Thomas Berger and Barbara Mowat (2003).

[42] Act/line/scene numbers for *Richard III* refer to James R. Siemon's Arden 3 edition (2009).



THE
WOVNDS
of Ciuill VVar.

Liuely ſet forth in the true Tragedies of *Marius and Scilla.*

As it hath beene publiquely plaide in London, by the Right Honourable the Lord high Admirall his Seruants.

VVritten by *Thomas Lodge* Gent.

O Vita! miſero longa, fœlici breuis.

LONDON,
Printed by Iohn Danter, and are to be ſold at the ſigne of the Sunne in Paules Church-yarde.
1594.

Figure 1.5 Title Page of *The Wounds of Civil War* (1594).

The wounds of personal or familial loss are not the only consequences considered by these plays, nor were they probably the ones Danter thought would speak most intimately to his niche market. In addition to depicting civil war as an intrusive dehumanising force on the individual, the language of these plays is also heavily concerned with its residual effect on a larger, national body. In *Wounds of Civil War,* appeals for peace are repeatedly made through images of how war is affecting Rome. Senators plead with Scilla that "Rome [is] afflicted through thy wrath" (5.1.2028; H3r, 19) while Anthony observes how the warring factions "raze and wound thy Citie Rome" (1.1.292; B2r, 17). *Titus* similarly depicts the civil violence between Saturnine and Titus resulting in a wounded city-state. One of the first promises made to the

citizens of Rome by the newly-crowned Lucius is his intention to "gouerne ſo, / To heale Romes harmes, and wipe away her woe" (5.3.146-7; K4r, 14-5). Closer to home, the medieval London of *Jack Straw* falls victim to violence at the hands of the rebel Tom Miller. Raiding "amongſt the ends [Inns] of the Court, & among the Records, & / althat I ſaw either in the Guild-Hall or in any other place" (D3v, 4-5), Miller takes great pleasure in destroying the confiscated documents of the state in a bonfire. Bearing the marks of civil unrest, London re-emerges with William Walworth's declaration that King John and his court "Shall finde your London ſuch a ſtore houſe ſtill" (F2v, 32). London, like *Titus'* Rome, is battered but not broken. Danter's interest in texts which considered the "wounds" left on both the individual and the nation at large would resonate with one of the most pressing concerns of England at the end of the sixteenth century. By the time Danter printed *Jack Straw, Wounds of Civil War*, and *Titus* between 1593-94, Elizabeth I was already over sixty years of age and any hope of her producing an heir had been long since abandoned. The uncertainty and anxiety surrounding the impending end of Elizabeth's reign and the ultimate succession of the Scottish King James VI weighed heavy in the thoughts of the individuals who, much like the Romans in *Wounds* and *Titus,* had positioned themselves to their best advantage within the current reign. These characters of status and education with much to lose in the changing tides of policy, no doubt, resonated with many of the gentleman readers Danter addressed in his non-dramatic publications. Engaging with his readers through such topical themes presents Danter as an active stationer trying to fashion a dramatic repertoire relevant to issues of the day and to the interests and concerns of his target readership.

Danter's focus on the upheaval of civil disputes identified in *Wounds, Titus*, and *Jack Straw* may also have influenced his decision, a few years later, to publish *Romeo and Juliet.*[43] Danter perhaps had only to read the prologue's warning that "*ciuill warre makes ciuill hands vncleane*" (Prol. 4, A3r, 17) to see that this play would coincide nicely with the "forraine broyles and ciuil mutenies" (A4v, 31) of *Wounds* and his other civil war dramas.[44] If he read on, his initial hunch would have been confirmed. In addition to the central theme of civil unrest, *Romeo* shares with *Wounds* and *Titus* a concern with issues of

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[43] Act/line/scene numbers for *Romeo* refer to René Weis' Arden 3 edition (2012). Signature numbers refer to the Malone Society edition of Q1 edited by Jill Levenson and Barry Gaines (2000).

[44] The similarity between *Romeo* and *Wounds of Civil War* is noted again in Thomas Otway's Restoration adaptation, *The History and Fall of Caius Marius* (London 1680). The dispute between Marius and Silla and its tragic ending serves as a frame for the love story between Marius and Lavinia who at one point cries 'O Marius, Marius! wherefore at thou Marius?' cf. Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1995: 77-79.

"young" regimes versus "old" and an interest in the performance of these disputes in the public arena through scenes of street violence (*Romeo* 1.1.78-83; *Wounds* 5.1.1935-45). Of primary importance to Danter's repertoire is *Romeo and Juliet*'s negative portrayal of the aftermath of these disputes. The casualties of the feud between the Capulets and Montagues are not a celebration of heroism in the name of a glorious cause but a parade of futility and wasted lives. The loss of Mercutio by an inglorious thrust under Romeo's arm deconstructs any relation between visible glory and the act of dying in defence of your faction. However, the true inefficacy and cost of the violence are fully realised in the deaths of Romeo and Juliet themselves, which are nothing less than the loss of the next generations of Montagues and Capulets. This loss of the future is also the price of civil war in *Wounds* and *Titus*. In *Wounds* the dispute results in the deaths of the young representatives of both parties: Scilla and "young" Marius. While Titus' son Lucius eventually becomes emperor, he is the only surviving sibling in a chain of family deaths that began with the senseless slaughter of Mutius by his own father and ended with the honour killing of Lavinia as a victim of collateral violence. Even the deaths of Tamora's sons Demetrius and Chiron, while perhaps more morally deserving, effectively end the hereditary line of the Queen of Gaul. All three of these plays conclude with the unnerving reminder that after the dust has settled and power bestowed to one side or the other, the loss of an entire generation will be felt by those left behind. With the prince's deadening condemnation that some will be "puniſhed" (5.3.308; K4r, 32) echoing the sentiment of *Wounds* and *Titus* that the "wounds" of civil war are the lingering memories of loss, *Romeo and Juliet* may have seemed a natural fit for Danter's dramatic repertoire.

As with many of Danter's texts, the stationer begins his fashioning of the play for his gentlemen readers in the paratexts. His marketing of *Romeo and Juliet* begins on the title page with its unique description of the play as "*AN* / EXCELLENT / conceited Tragedie".[45] "Conceited" commonly appears on title pages of this time, but as Jill Levenson notes, it is usually employed to sell the wittiness of comedies rather than the pathos of tragedies ("Introduction" *Romeo* 107). Going against the grain of conventional early modern marketing practices for drama, Danter's word choice bears resemblance to his description of *Wounds of Civil War* on its title page as "Liuely set forth in the true tragedies of Marius and Scilla". In *Documents of Performance*, Tiffany Stern sees such wording on early modern playbills and title pages as serving a specific function. "Books

[45] "Conceited" only appears on the title page of Q1 and not on any subsequent editions, making it possible to attribute this element to Danter's agency.

and plays marketed using the same lurid language", Stern notes, "were almost certainly intended for the same people" (60). With this in mind, the presentation of both of these tragedies as also possessing an element of lively wit suggests a purposeful connection to texts like Nashe's satires, the poems of *Greene's Funerals*, and the knightly adventures in *Chinon* of catering to the learnedness of his gentle readers. The classification of Q1 *Romeo* suggested in this opening marketing tactic is continued in the play itself through typographical flourishes that are also common features of Danter's gentlemen repertoire. Stern observes how a prologue like that in Q1 *Romeo* presented on its own page and with the generic heading "The Prologue", "shows that the compositors were handed these texts 'separately'" (103). To this end, Stern suggests that this presentation is a printing house interpretation of a prologue's physical separateness from the rest of the copytext. Additionally, considering that both Danter and Chettle were seasoned writers and publishers of prefaces and prologues for literary works, it is equally reasonable to consider this prologue, with its head ornament and treatment of title and body of text, as similar to presentations in other Chettle and Danter publications such as the opening page of *Saffron Walden* (D3r), the poem by "H.C." in the prefatory texts to *2 Primaleon* (A4v), and Danter's own preface to *God's Arrow* (A3r). In this way, the prologue to Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* suggests not only a more literary presentation of the play itself but also a typographical enhancement that coordinates Q1 *Romeo* with Danter's other texts for gentle readers.

In this way, paratextual and contextual evidence of Danter's engagement with readers in dramatic and non-dramatic publications identifies a new focus in Danter's printing house on the market of gentlemen readers. This knowledge presents Danter's publication practices as consciously directed towards unifying texts within the parameters of an identifiable readership. Targeting his repertoire to a market demand in this way challenges the supposition that Danter's publication choices were all fuelled by desperation rather than by any discernible business plan. On the contrary, by actively addressing gentle readers in his preface and emphasising the gentleman status of writers in his title pages, Danter presents himself as a public printer who knows his readers and tailors his publications to their social sphere. Danter's knowledge of his clientele is also represented in the thematic similarities of his collection of civil war dramas. The timely concerns of civil dispute and government upheaval observed in *The Wounds of Civil War, Titus Andronicus, Jack Straw,* and *Romeo and Juliet* suggest that Danter was aware of the interests, and possibly the anxieties, of his readers. Furthermore, the similarities between

all these plays make it reasonable to posit that they were chosen by Danter, at least to some extent, for their subject matter. That Danter was familiar with the content of the plays he published may also offer an explanation as to why Chettle was brought in to help prepare the copy for *Romeo and Juliet*. Having read the play, Danter may have decided his copytext could benefit from the work of his resident writer. Danter's amicable and productive collaborations with writers and his active appreciation of their agency in the printing process make it possible to suggest such a scenario. In this way, Danter's printing house can be seen as an environment in which writers and stationers, publishers and readers organically interacted. As the final part of this chapter shows, it is this atmosphere that produced the stage directions in Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*.

Part 3:

1.7 A Most Excellent and Conceited Collaboration: Chettle & Danter in the textual space of Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*

Thus far, this chapter has presented two models of textual collaboration. First, Chettle's multifaceted textual persona demonstrated the inherent compatibility of stationer and writer skills. Second, John Danter actively collaborated with at least some of the writers whose work he published. In both instances, Chettle and Danter demonstrated a willingness to adapt and adjust their individual expertise to the requirements of particular texts. Moreover, they contributed to the development of a variety of textual spaces in which playhouse and printing house agencies collectively shared authority. In the final part of this chapter, Chettle's and Danter's profiles as textual collaborators provide a foundation for understanding how agencies of publisher, printer, compositor, and writer collectively developed the additional stage directions in Danter's publication of *Romeo and Juliet*. Despite the hopes of Chettle's first biographer, Harold Jenkins, that Chettle "had no share in setting up the execrable quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*", Chettle's name appears throughout the later half of the twentieth century as a possible

contributor of Q1's "unusually precise stage directions" (Jenkins 18; Loehlin 3).[46] In 1998, John Jowett solidified this growing consensus with his bibliographical study "Henry Chettle and Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*". Through a study of linguistic parallels between the stage directions in Q1 and those in Chettle's other dramatic works, Jowett confirmed Chettle's attribution. In addition, his study of typographical patterns in the text also identified a "correspondence between their [the stage directions'] locations within the text and the locations of mechanical adjustments made by the compositors to use up surplus space" ("Quarto" 54). Repositioning Chettle's additions as "part and parcel of a redesign", Jowett categorised the directions as a printing house solution to a printing house problem ("Quarto" 56). However, considering Chettle's contribution as a purely bibliographical event ignores the dual agency Chettle consistently employed in all his work and restricts Chettle's contribution to mechanical printing house practices. Although Jowett suggests that Chettle's contribution to the quarto "worked a memorially based text of *Romeo and Juliet* into something like coherence", the descriptive quality of the stage directions is generally considered a coincidence ("Factotum" 468). As a result, the attribution of the directions to a known Elizabethan playwright has done little to relieve scholarly anxiety regarding these directions or resolve their place in critical study. By understanding Chettle and Danter's contributions as a product of collective playhouse and printing house agencies, this research offers a new reading of the character and quality of Q1's stage directions. At the same time, it demonstrates the benefits of considering dramatic quartos as products of collaborative playhouse and printing house authority.

While *Romeo and Juliet* is Danter's only play for which Chettle is believed to have written new content, the two men are linked through a string of publications from the dissolution of the Hoskins/Chettle/Danter partnership in winter 1591-92 to the publication of Q1 in 1597. In Danter's first year of independent business, he printed sheets D-F of *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* which, as this chapter has already discussed, Chettle wrote and probably published. It is worth noting that Danter's signatures of *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* include many of the most memorable parts of the text

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[46] Earliest proposal of Chettle was by Harry R. Hoppe in *The Bad Quarto of "Romeo and Juliet": A Bibliographical and Textual Study* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1948), then shortly after by Sidney Thomas, "Henry Chettle and the First Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet,*" *RES,* 1(1950): 8-16; and accepted by George Walton Williams "*The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet:" A Critical Edition* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1964), 145. John Jowett confirmed Thomas' findings and confirmed Chettle's authority in his collected studies: "'Johnanes Factotum': Henry Chettle and *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*" *PBSA*, 87.4 (1993): 453-486; "Notes on Henry Chettle" (parts 1&2) *The Review of English Studies*, 45.179(1994): 384-388 and 45.180 (Nov 1994): 517-22 and "Henry Chettle and the First Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*" *PBSA* 92 (1998): 53-74.

including the actual list described as Greene's "groatf=worth / of wit" and the letter to the playwrights (E4r, 7-8; E4r-E4v). Danter's section also repeats the title page epitaph *Fælicum fuiſſe infaustum* twice on its last two pages (F3v, F4). Appearing again at the closing of Chettle's dedication to *England's Mourning Garment* (Aiiv), this motto links Danter's portion of *Groatsworth* with Chettle's personal publisher agency. A year later Danter printed sheets E-H of Chettle's first solo work, *Kind Heart's Dream* (STC 5123, 1593) and then the whole of Chettle's *Piers Plainness* (STC 5124, 1595) a few years later. Chettle's hand has also been identified in several of Danter's projects which place him in Danter's printing house in the years before *Romeo*. Jowett suggested Chettle as the Latin corrector identified by Greg in Danter's 1594 quarto of *Orlando Furioso* ("Factotum" 486, "Orlando" 282). In the preface "To his good Friend M. *Anthony Mundy*" in Danter's 1596 publication of Munday's *Second Booke of Primaleon,* Chettle claims to have encountered the text "*in / the Printing-house, whence I haue long / loytered*" (A3r, 2-4). That same year Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron Walden* also appeared containing Chettle's letter signed "Your old Compoſitor". Chettle's promise in the letter to "ſquare & ſet" the text himself would only be possible if he had access to the text as it was being printed in Danter's house (V2v, 17, 14).

Further evidence of their relationship is seen in Chettle's mention of Danter in his writing. In *Kind Heart's Dream,* Chettle's ghosts must enlist the help of Kind Heart because "Piers Penileſſe *Poſt / had refuſed the carriage*". The printer of Thomas Nashe's *The Apology of Pierce Penilesse* was none other than Danter himself (STC 18378, 1592 and 18378a, 1593). Danter actually contributed to the publication of *Kind Heart's Dream*, but only as the secondary printer of signatures E-H for the bookseller William Wright. With his early run-in with the Stationers' Company during his apprenticeship, Danter had reason enough to avoid association with controversial printings. Danter's supporting role may also reflect a reluctance to be publicly connected with another satirical text of the sort that would prompt the Company, just a few years later in 1599, to issue an injunction against "Satyres or epigrams" (Arber III, 677). Kind Heart's suggestion that Pierce's "Friend had a foule / check for medling in the matter" and "almoſt hazarded his credit in hell by / beeing a Broker betweene Pierce Penileſſe and his / Lord" suggests that Danter may have already gotten into trouble for his involvement (B3v, 12-13, 18-20). Indeed the injunction's special provision that "all Nasshes bookes ... be taken wheresoeuer they are found and that none of their bookes bee euer printed hereafter" puts Danter at the centre of this emerging issue (Arber III, 677). However,

Kind Heart's scathing descriptions of the messenger as a "diuell" "whome in times / paſt I haue ſeen as highly promoted as the pillory", suggests that despite this apparent difficulty, Chettle was displeased that Danter did not take on the full "post" of his pamphlet as the printer did for Nashe (B3v, 6,4-5).

Regardless of their obvious ups and downs, by the start of the Lenten season of 1597, Danter and Chettle had a record of sustained collaboration. When Danter obtained the manuscript of a new play by the Lord Chamberlain's Men, the two had been collaborating as stationer and writer for some time. However, Chettle and Danter's collaboration only gained the attention of modern scholarship in the second half of the twentieth century. Harry R. Hoppe first mentioned Chettle as a possible "reporter-versifier" of the stage directions in his 1948 book, *The Bad Quarto of "Romeo and Juliet": A Bibliographical and Textual Study* (220). Until then, it was generally accepted that the stage directions, along with the other lines and speeches considered not by Shakespeare, were the work of memorial reconstruction.[47] Hoppe himself did not pursue Chettle's role any further as it conflicted with his theory of the reconstructed manuscript coming from actors formerly with the Lord Hunsdon's, later the Lord Chamberlain's men (220). The first definitive assertion of Chettle's authority was argued more aggressively by Sidney Thomas who, in spite of his references to Danter as "the pirate", asserted that the "skillfully conceived" and "superior" writing of the non-Shakespeare speeches was beyond the abilities of an actor/reporter ("Chettle" 10). In the first suggestions of a playhouse/printing house collaboration theory, Thomas looked for a writer in proximity to Danter's house. From Chettle and Danter's record of combined publication Thomas concluded that "no writer of the period, ... was more closely associated with Danter in the period immediately preceding the printing of Q1 of *Romeo and Juliet* than Chettle" ("Chettle" 12). Thomas also offers the first stylistic comparisons between Q1 and Chettle's written corpus by highlighting comparable images, poetics, and spellings between Q1 lines from the scene in Friar Lawrence's cell where Romeo and Juliet meet to marry (E4r-v) and lines from *Hoffman, Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon, Patient Grissel* and his non-dramatic works. In addition, Thomas was the first scholar to pay particular

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[47] The memorial reconstruction theory was first put forward by A.W. Pollard in his *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (1909) as one of the characteristics of Q1 *Romeo* as a "bad" quarto. Harry Hoppe's *The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet: A Bibliographical and Textual Study* (1948) identified former actors as the source of the reconstructed manuscript. Memorial reconstruction was challenged by revisionists including Stephen Urkowitz "Good News About "Bad" Quartos" (1988): 192, 205; Jay Halio "Handy-Dandy: Q1/Q2 *Romeo and Juliet*" (1995): 137, David Farley-Hills "The 'Bad' Quarto of Romeo and Juliet." (1996): 27, 33, and Lucas Erne *Shakespeare as a Literary Dramatist* (2003): 204, 218 in favour of various permutations of playhouse collaboration, and particularly by Laurie Maguire in *Shakespearean Suspect Texts* (1996).

attention to comparable parallels between the Q1 stage directions and those from Chettle's other dramatic writings, noting that "the surviving plays in which Chettle had a hand...are full of precisely such directions" ("Chettle" 15). Significantly, Thomas's additional assertion that the "strong possibility" of Chettle's authorship put readings of Q1 "on reasonably safe critical ground" encouraged scholars to use this new found textual authority to enrich their textual narratives ("Chettle" 16). However, Thomas's findings had only limited impact: George Walton Williams acknowledged that the un-Shakespearean lines and directions at 2.6 (*Enter* Iuliet *fomewhat faſt, and embraceth Romeo.* (E4r, 31)) were "perhaps" by Chettle but for several decades Chettle's contribution made little difference in critical approaches to the play (145). The movement towards understanding early modern playtexts as the products of collaborative theatrical process in the late 1980s regenerated interest in Shakespeare's plays as the result of collective agency. With new critical interest in using multiple text plays to reconstruct theatrical practice, John Jowett's 1987 edition of *Romeo and Juliet* for Oxford's *The Complete Works* brought Chettle's "informative and picturesque" stage directions back into critical discussion as possible reconstructions of performance ("Romeo and Juliet"- *Textual Companion* 288). Following Hoppe's belief that Q1 was not published surreptitiously, Jowett asserted that Danter was the *de facto* copyright holder, adding legitimacy to Danter's publication and the contributions of his "continuing associate" Henry Chettle ("Romeo and Juliet"- *Textual Companion* 288). Jowett's subsequent article, "Henry Chettle and the First Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet"* (1998) offered the first assessment of Chettle's contributions as an act of textual collaboration.[48] Jowett focused his research on the typographical conditions of the stage directions and their relationship to the printing practices of Danter and Edward Allde who shared the printing of the Quarto.[49] His analysis identified patterns of space wasting, involving the use of extensive white space or rows of small square ornaments that coincided with many of the stage directions usually attributed to Chettle (Jowett "Quarto" 56). Concluding that the stage directions were "part and parcel of a redesign", which compensated for excess space in Allde's portion of the play, Chettle's stage directions were associated with the printing house and confirmed Danter and Chettle's relationship as textual collaborators. Continuing

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[48] Jowett also asserts that Chettle must surely have written the un-Shakespearian passages 2.5, 3.2.57-60, and 5.3.12-21 and "probably had a wider responsibility for the continuity of the text and the stage directions" ("Notes (Concluded)" 515). For Jowett's extended work on Chettle, see also Jowett "Quarto" (1998), "Sir Thomas More" (1989), "Factotum" (1993), "Notes" (1994).

[49] Danter printed sheets A-D and Allde sheets E-K. See also Frank Haggard "Type-Recurrence Evidence and the Printing of *Romeo and Juliet* Q1 (1597)." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America.* 71(1977): 66-73.

research into collaboration in both the playhouse and printing house has kept Chettle and Danter's Q1 collaboration in textual narratives of most subsequent critical editions, if only to challenge its likelihood.[50] Most recently, René Weis's Arden 3 edition of the play devotes an entire section to the origins of the stage directions and includes a considerate explanation of Jowett's argument for Chettle's attribution. However, Jowett's conclusion that the directions are "connected with the printing house" leads Weis to infer that their typographical role "reduces the stage directions to the status of space fillers" (Jowett, "Quarto" 54; Weis, *Romeo* 114). Weis explains the consequence of this change to his readers as "rather than being a record of performance, they [the stage directions] may constitute the most exciting padding in the textual history of Shakespeare's plays" (*Romeo* 115). Weis's demoting of the stage directions from "records" to "padding" illustrates how the stage versus page dichotomy categorises even the most interesting and creative elements as, to use Weis's terms, either "a record of performance or literary ornaments"(*Romeo* 110). However, knowledge of Chettle's collective writer and stationer agency presented in this chapter has repeatedly shown Chettle working with the creativity of a playwright within the conventions of the printing house. Likewise, Danter's textual collaborations have shown an awareness of the performative capabilities of print. In the final section of this chapter, I offer an alternative narrative for the character and quality of the Q1 stage directions that draws from Chettle and Danter's collective playhouse and printing house agencies at work in the textual space of Q1.

This chapter has already discussed how *Romeo and Juliet* shares thematic and paratextual similarities with a collection of Danter's dramatic quartos fashioned to connect with a market of gentleman readers. In support of Chettle's authorship of the Q1 stage directions, Sidney Thomas and John Jowett have highlighted similarities between directions in *Romeo,* other plays in which Chettle had a hand, and other plays published and/or printed by Danter. This dissertation endorses Jowett's and Thomas's attributions but is more concerned with considering Chettle's Q1 stage directions in the context of Danter's niche market repertoire.[51] Chettle's directions share many of the same goals as those in Danter's repertoire of civil war plays, including *Titus Andronicus, Wounds of Civil War,* and *Jack Straw*. For example, Chettle's Q1 *Romeo* directions "*He goeth*

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[50] Jill Levenson's *Oxford Classics* edition includes a history of Chettle's attribution in a note but ends by claiming that the same evidence "viewed differently" supports her own theory of the additions being by an "anonymous redactor or Shakespeare himself" (111, 114-25).

[51] See Thomas "Chettle" (13-14), Jowett "Quarto" (59-65, 71-74). See also Jeffrey Kahan, "Henry Chettle's *Romeo* Q1 and *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon*" *Notes and Queries*, 241(1996), 155-56.

downe." (5.3.42; G3v, 10) and "*She goeth downe from the window.*" (3.5.67; G3v, 31) not only detail movements of the characters from the upper space to stage level but, by presenting the upper space as a "window", also invoke a specific image only available to readers of the text. *Wounds* and *Titus* incorporate similar descriptions of unperformable spaces that are "aloft" such as the senate house in *Titus* and "the *Capitoll*" in *Wounds* (A3r, 8; A2r, 4). The stage directions in *Jack Straw* similarly refer to entering groups of characters in terms that are not used in dialogue: "*Rebels*" (F2r, 12) and "*Southwarkemen*" (C4r, 23). Such details would never be known to an audience but would help a reader more fully visualise a scene. M.J. Kidnie describes such images constructed in the reader's mind as a play's "virtual performance" ("Text" 465). Playtexts which specifically engage with the reader experience in this way, Kidnie asserts, offer "performance as imagined by the author and shaped by the dominant theatrical conventions of the historical and cultural moment of the play's creation as literature" ("Text" 465). As a combined result of writer impression and theatrical convention, elements of playtexts which enhance virtual performance provide valuable evidence of writerly interest in the successful presentation of their theatrical work as reading texts. That scholars of both *Wounds* and *Titus* believe that these quartos originated from authorial rather than theatrical copy adds further support to the possibility that these playwrights had reading audiences in mind.[52] John Jowett has observed a similar "authorial complexion" in Chettle's stage directions noting that Chettle "favoured the descriptive, 'literary' direction and yet liked to focus on staging details" ("Quarto" 60, 61). Stage directions containing details such as "*He offers*" (3.3.107; G1v, 16), "*caſting Roſemary*" (4.5.95; I2v, 7), and "*Fryer ſtoops*" (5.3.139; K2r, 20) suggest that, like Peele and Lodge, Chettle used his theatrical knowledge to write directions that would offer dramatic moments to readers of Danter's quarto.

Interest in virtual performance is also visible in directions that ascribe particular emotions or qualities to characters. Thomas Lodge especially prefers this style of direction and has his characters enter "*triumphant*" (B3r, 27), "*penſiue*" (H1r, 21), and at times of devastating loss in "*wonder- / full mellancoly*" (H3v, 29-30). Chettle's stage directions likewise convey a sense of the temperament of his characters as when the nurse enters "*wringing her hands*" (3.2.31; F3r, 19) or by giving a specific pace to entrances as when Juliet enters "*ſomewhat faſt*" (2.6.15; E4r, 31) or the nurse enters "*haſtely*" (3.5.36;

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[52] For *Wounds,* see Hanabusa (2000): 162-69; for *Titus,* Jonathan Bate's Introduction to his Arden 3 edition (97). However, this dissertation does not follow Bate's conclusion that the authorial text was written by Shakespeare alone but that it was a collaboration with George Peele whose hand is in the stage directions discussed here.

G3v, 28). The more illustrative stage directions in *Romeo and Juliet* also share with those in Danter's civil war repertoire a particular interest in sequences of choreographed action that overlap with dialogue. Such directions are used to best effect in *Titus* and *Wounds* to allow scenes to begin with the dialogue *in medias res.* One of the most famous examples, from the beginning of 4.1 *Titus Andronicus*: "*Enter* L*ucius ſonne and* L*auinia running after him, and / the Boy flies from her with his Bookes vn- / der his Arme.*" (F3v, 20-22) gives readers an image of the action before Titus and Marcus respond to the scene. Even the directions in *Jack Straw*, which often lack the stylistic quality of *Wounds*, *Titus,* and *Romeo*, occasionally go beyond lists of props and characters to document memorable moments. For example, in 3.2 the rebel Tom Miller holds an argument with his wooden staff. The direction, "*Here he tries it with a ſtaffe.*" (D3v, 797) depicts Miller's comical effort to argue with himself so that when the Queen inquires what he is doing, readers will be well aware of the curious image she is seeing. Such directions also appear at pivotal moments in the plot. When it becomes clear that the divided loyalties of the senate between Marius and Scilla will lead to violence towards the end of 1.1 of *Wounds of Civil War,* Lodge punctuates the end of peaceful discussion with the direction "*Here let the Senate riſe and caſt away their Gownes, hauing / their ſwords by their ſides : Exit Marius and with him Sulpiti- / us: Iu: Brutus: Lectorius.*" (B1v, 13-15). Rather than delivering this moment through a spoken line the change is first introduced in a powerful and prophetic description. The directions in *Romeo and Juliet* are of constant interest to scholars and editors of the play because they too offer images of specific dramatic moments through a combination of verbal expression and action. Much discussed directions such as: "*Tibalt vnder Romeos arme thruſts Mer-/cutio, in and flyes*" (3.1.89; F1v, 6-7), "*He offers to ſtab himſelfe, and Nurſe ſnatches / the dagger away.*" (3.3.107; G1v, 16-17), and "*She fals vpon her bed within the Curtaines.*" (4.3.58; I1r, 8) exceed simple direction to impart visuals of dramatic action that often stand in lieu of, or precede, exposition in dialogue. Similarly, moments of quiet introspection as when Friar Lawrence "*ſtoops and lookes on the blood and weapons*" (5.3.139; K2r, 20) offer images of quiet pathos by situating the actions of characters in the context of the dramatic moment.

The relationship between these directions and concurrent action in the play has long been a point of interest for scholars. Despite his general distaste for Q1 as a "bad" quarto, Brian Gibbons concedes that the correlation of these directions with the larger dramatic project suggests that they derive from the text rather than a performance (12). John Jowett likewise posits that Chettle's wording "shows such precise and delighted

interest in the play as theatre" that rather than capturing a performance they may actually recount Chettle's "memory of what he saw - or imagined he saw - on stage" ("Quarto" 65). Jowett's subsequent warning that Chettle's style "might be difficult to distinguish from the authorial" again highlights implied reader awareness inherent in these directions ("*Romeo and Juliet*"- *Textual Companion* 289). More than just sounding "authorial", these directions provide an overall service to the copytext that is decidedly reader-oriented. Acknowledging the reworking of the play script as an action aimed at readers repositions Q1's stage directions as part of Danter's larger publication project of offering readable plays to his gentlemen clientele. As a result, it is possible to assert that the character of the Q1 stage directions is, at least in part, symptomatic of Danter's decision to include the 1597 quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* in his repertoire of gentlemen texts.

At this point, the study of Chettle's collective agency from the first half of this chapter provides additional insight into the character and agency of Chettle's work on the stage directions of Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*. While Jowett's study of *Groatsworth of Wit* showed Chettle's ability to assimilate seamlessly his writing with that of another writer to the point that it might be mistaken as "authorial", Chettle's additions to *Romeo and Juliet* are recognised because they are decidedly un-Shakespearean. We know from his work as a compositor and writer that Chettle did not see a job as either a writing or a printing task but made a career of adapting his style to specification: be it printing house or playhouse. This approach presents the possibility that the goal of this particular assignment was something other than blending or imitating Shakespeare's style. While it is uniformly accepted that Chettle's directions do not sound like Shakespeare, this chapter has presented evidence to suggest that they do share similarities with the stage directions of the civil war plays in Danter's repertoire. To this end, it is reasonable to posit that Chettle's assignment for Q1 was not to write like Shakespeare, but to mimic the style of the directions in Danter's other printed plays. Whereas in his work on *Groatsworth of Wit*, Chettle was free to let Chettle the writer and Chettle the stationer blur seamlessly together into a Greene-like voice, Chettle's work on *Romeo and Juliet* would be more clearly defined by Danter's larger publishing project of expanding the playtext into a cohesive, reader-aware edition that would sell well alongside similar publications. The aim to appeal to Danter's gentleman readership could therefore account for the un-Shakespearean quality of Chettle's stage directions in spite of Chettle's demonstrated ability to take on the writing style of others.

Reconsidering Chettle's contributions to Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* as part of Danter's larger publication project also suggests an alternative transmission narrative for this quarto. By reading Chettle's stage directions strictly as part of the compositorial practice of space wasting used to compensate for the short text and the problem of mismatched font sizes, Jowett is forced to consider that, in order for the pages to be reset properly, Chettle had to be in Edward Allde's house to write the additional directions as the formes were being set ("Quarto" 59). While such a scenario is certainly possible, it presumes an extraordinary and inefficient use of Chettle who would be required to "hang out" through the resetting in order to custom fit his written additions as necessary. It is unlikely that Chettle, with his endless mentions in Henslowe's diary as needing to borrow money, his steady stream of jobs as a playwright, and his work for Danter, had the time to do this. Furthermore, if Chettle wrote these directions specifically to take up space, they are not especially effective; for while they are descriptive and informative and all the other things scholars love about them, the one thing they are not is particularly long. Extended directions by Peele, Lodge, and even numerous stage directions in Chettle's *The Tragedy of Hoffman* can easily exceed one hundred and even two hundred characters such as:

> *Enter as many as may be ſpar'd, with lights, and make a lane*
> *kneeling while Martha the Dutcheſſe like a mourner*
> *with her traine paſſeth through.* (5.2.1681-83; H1r, 22-4)

However, only one of Chettle's stage directions in *Romeo,* "*They draw, to them enters* Tybalt, *they fight, to them the ⁄ Prince, old* Mountague, *and his wife, old* Capulet *and ⁄ his wife, and other Citizens and part them*" (1.1.57; A4v, 21-23) exceeds one hundred characters. With the next longest direction being only sixty-nine characters long, Chettle's space wasting directions in *Romeo* generally fall short. The fact that Chettle's other writing shows that he could write really long directions but did not for Q1 *Romeo* further suggests that the goal of his added directions was not to be long but descriptive in support of a reader's virtual performance. This role in Danter's publication project makes it less likely that they were created solely as part of a space-wasting solution. It is reasonable for Allde's compositors to have found that inserting extra spaces around these stage directions was the easiest way to adjust the spacing, but Chettle's directions did not need to be created during the re-setting for Allde to do this. Danter's choice to set the opening sheets of Q1 *Romeo* in a larger type face could suggest that the stationer, having the manuscript in hand when

casting off and determining the amount of paper necessary, was probably already aware that this text was short. To this end, the conspicuous lack of excessive white space in the Danter sheets could be seen to suggest that Danter already addressed the short text problem in his original setting through a combination of the larger font and Chettle's additional directions.[53] As a result, it seems more in line with Chettle's and Danter's skills and publication focus to consider that, after identifying the play as one that might appeal to his gentleman readership, Danter then proceeded to construct a publication from this manuscript that would integrate it into his repertoire. Realising that it was short for a play, Danter decided to print it in the larger typeface and employed Chettle, with his uncanny ability to write for function and effect, to compose additional stage directions that would not only make it run a little longer but also give it the more reader-aware feel of his other plays. This textual narrative contextualises Chettle's writing within Danter's larger publication project. At the same time it allows Jowett's conclusion that Allde purposely put in the extra spaces and ornaments around the stage directions without the impractical scenario of Chettle writing them *ad hoc* in Allde's house. As part of Danter and Allde's typographical solution to reduce excess space, Chettle's directions retain their distinction as a contribution to the collective printing house "redesign". Combined with their stylistic correlations with Danter's other dramatic publications, Chettle's directions function within both spheres of this textual space: as the transmission of a concept of theatrical practice and as a typographical component of Danter's larger publication plan. In short, the directions are neither "the record" nor "the ornament" but defy the stage versus page dichotomy by encompassing both. In this way, Danter and Chettle's collaboration within Q1 *Romeo* presents a model of dynamic co-operation between playhouse and printing house agents.

During the Lenten season of 1597, either in the middle or shortly after finishing his share of Q1's printing, Danter's press was confiscated and subsequently destroyed for unauthorised publication of the *Jesus Psalter* (STC 14567) "and other thinges without authoritie" (Greg *Court* 56).[54] Several months later, Danter's name reappears in the *Register* securing the rights to *Mihil Mumchance* (STC 17916) by Anonymous, but he would only publish two more texts before his death in 1599 (Arber III, 89).[55] With his alternative source of income gone by mid 1597, Chettle turned his full attention to

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[53] Jowett notes that the space wasting is focused in the Allde part of the Quarto ("Quarto" 55-56, 71).

[54] cf. (Arber I, 580).

[55] Danter's death is recorded in the registry of Parish of St. Giles Cripplegate 26th October 1599 (Hanabusa 32).

playwriting. Neil Carson identifies the 1597-98 and 1598-99 theatre seasons as the playwright's most busy, with Chettle becoming "the most prolific and highly paid of the dramatists working for Shaa and Downton" (61,62). Yet even this burst of productivity was apparently not enough to keep Chettle financially solvent. A string of *Diary* entries from this same time reveal Chettle frequently in debt to his employers and one instance in 1599 of Henslowe paying to have Chettle released from Marshalsea prison (Foakes *Diary* 103, f. 52v). Although as late as October 1599 Chettle still identified with his life as a printer, signing a bond with Henslowe as "henry Chettle of London Stationer"; there is no evidence suggesting Chettle peddled his stationer skills in another printing house despite his apparent financial hardship (Foakes *Diary* 119, f.62r). A stationer for nearly thirty years by the end of the sixteenth century, Chettle had outlasted most of his printing house contemporaries, perhaps making it difficult for an old compositor to find casual employment in the house of a younger master printer who would accommodate his writing. Thus it is evident that, through his collaboration with Danter, Chettle was able to establish his own uniquely advantageous niche. That Danter similarly gained from the use of Chettle's skill set is shown by their collaboration over nearly a decade. As textual collaborators, Chettle and Danter unified the agencies of playhouse and printing house into a unique collaboration that was productive and mutually beneficial.

1.8 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has explored the compatibility of playhouse and printing house skills and their impact on early modern dramatic texts. Expanding literary and textual analysis of the works of Henry Chettle and John Danter from individual texts to repertoires of dramatic and non-dramatic works revealed patterns of textual engagement between playhouse and printing house agencies. My study of Henry Chettle's unique fusion of stationer and writer training into a variety of textual personas offered multiple examples of how the expertise of writers and stationers might and did combine as part of the publication of short pamphlets, including playbooks, in the early modern period. Examples of stationer and writer collaboration in John Danter's publication repertoire reveal an interest in working with writers during the printing process. Furthermore, instances of typographical symmetry in Thomas Nashe's *Have With You To Saffron Walden* also revealed a previously unconsidered aspect of Danter's textual intervention that demonstrated an unexpected level of knowledge and interest in his publications.

Danter's repertoire also shows how he fashioned particular texts towards a market of gentlemen readers. Comparison of themes and topical issues in *Romeo and Juliet* with Danter's other "civil war plays", presents a new reading for Shakespeare's play as addressing changing attitudes to the nation's history of civil wars and contemporary anxieties surrounding the impending ascension of a new monarch. By selecting gentlemen writers for his gentle readership and supplying plays that touched on topical issues of civil upheaval, Danter's repertoire reveals a proactive printer and publisher, rather than a subversive 'pirate' printer. After considering the collaborative practices of Chettle and Danter separately, this chapter has clarified how their individual textual agencies contributed to the descriptive stage directions in Q1 *Romeo and Juliet.* A close analysis of Chettle and Danter's collaboration suggests that Chettle's stage directions were not exclusively devised to solve the printing house problem of spacing but also fashioned to align the playtext with Danter's other dramatic quartos and their target readership. As a result, Q1's stage directions should not be seen as *either* a record of performance *or* a printing house solution but as a collective reflection of both interests in the same textual space. These findings suggest that a writer's creativity could find opportunities to flourish even within the boundaries of printing house practices. The fact that these stage directions not only were the product of a recognised playwright but were also done in the style of stage directions in other plays in Danter's repertoire should encourage a more open discussion of their quality and function as seen in Thomas's and Weis's editions. As detailed visualisations of Shakespeare's play by one of his contemporaries, these stage directions are at least as conceptually rich as Peckham's drawing of *Titus Andronicus:* though it is difficult not to hope, given their distinctive pedigree, that they are quite a bit more.

Chapter 2

Dynamics of Textual Collaboration: Nicholas Okes and Q1 *King Lear*

Introduction

Through the collaborative textual engagement of Henry Chettle and John Danter, Chapter One demonstrated the compatibility of writer and stationer skills and the impact of collective agency on small-format playbooks as a textual space. Chapter Two broadens the concept of collective agency already considered by following the multiple collaborative relationships of the stationer Nicholas Okes. Okes is best known as the printer of the 1608 first quarto edition of Shakespeare's *King Lear* (STC 22292). As one of two authoritative editions of Shakespeare's tragedy, the quarto, hereafter referred to as Q1, has been subjected to close bibliographical, textual, and literary scrutiny. Mainly aimed at determining Q1's relationship to the play's other textual authority, the First Folio (F1) such research focuses on reconstructing *King Lear* as originally conceived by Shakespeare. The most comprehensive of these studies, Peter Blayney's *The Texts of King Lear and Their Origins*, provided explicit details of how the mechanical process of printing impacted the typographical quality of the quarto. However, as seen in Chapter One's study of *Romeo and Juliet*, understanding dramatic publication as the product of singular, rather than collective, agency obscures the full contribution of other key textual agents. Through this model Q1 is usually considered a poorly printed playbook and a representative example of the printing house's failure to engage with playwrights as their works were transmitted into print. This chapter considers Q1 *Lear* through a broader study of collective agency in the work of its printer, Nicholas Okes. By examining Okes's interactions with texts and textual agents both before and after his work on Q1, this research constructs a profile of collective agency in Okes's printing house. Part One of the chapter examines Okes's engagement with other stationers focusing on his early training and his interactions with publishers of dramatic quartos in order to understand his interest in dramatic publication more generally. This section then explores Okes's interactions with early modern playwrights in order to identify particular strategies of textual intervention in Okes's dramatic repertoire. This research presents Okes as a textual collaborator and assesses his impact as a collaborative agent in dramatic

publications. Part Two considers Okes's extended textual collaboration with the playwright Thomas Heywood. Focusing on four early Okes/Heywood playbooks, *The Golden Age, An Apology for Actors, The Silver Age,* and *The Brazen Age,* this section of Chapter Two discusses these texts as the product of an extended exchange of skills and ideas between stationer and publisher. The chapter culminates in Part Three with a study of Q1 *King Lear.* Okes's textual intervention and printing house practice as outlined in the previous sections provides a foundation for a fresh analysis of Okes's printing of *King Lear,* which is then considered in the context of the contributions of Okes's two collaborators, his publisher, Nathaniel Butter, and his playwright, William Shakespeare. This section repositions Q1 *Lear* as a starting point, rather than a representative sample, of Okes's dramatic output. More generally, this chapter outlines previously overlooked strategies of textual collaboration which informed the transmission of Q1 into print.

Part 1 - Nicolas Okes, Stationer

2.1 Early Training

The entry in the *Stationers' Register* for 9 February 1596 shows that it was not Nicholas but "Peter Oakes son of Iohn Ok(es) Citi(zen) and horner of London" who was originally bound to the bookseller William King (Arber II, 209). It was only months later that "Peter" was crossed out and "Nicholas" written in directly above, saving Nicholas Okes, prolific early modern stationer, from historical obscurity. As an apprentice bookseller, Okes's tasks may have ranged from "the cleaning and minding of the shop, the collecting of stock from copyright-owning booksellers and printers, and the delivering of books to customers and the calling on them for the settlement of accounts" (Blagden 79). If King was a wholesale distributor, then Okes's training might also have included "work in the warehouse, the packing and dispatching of orders for the country trade and probably (after a period of instruction and in spite of the rule about stitching) the performance of the simpler operations of bookbinding" (Blagden 79). However, not long into his apprenticeship, Okes's vocational trajectory took a dramatic turn. At an undocumented point, most likely in the early half of the apprenticeship, Okes's apprentice bond was transferred from King to the printer Richard Field. Peter Blayney notes that it was not uncommon for an apprentice to be reassigned from one stationer to another, even if it meant a change in training from bookseller to printer, or vice versa (*Texts* 23). Though the exact date of Okes's transfer from King to Field is unknown, the

fact that Field "openly" freed Okes on 5th December 1603 makes it reasonable to accept Peter Blayney's conclusion that Okes "served so much of his term in Field's Wood Street house that he was considered, officially or otherwise, Field's apprentice" (*Texts* 23). For Okes, the move from bookstall to printing house also meant a radical change in his training and his professional career. Under King's tutelage Okes had learned the business of selling, rather than printing or making, books. These skills would have helped him little in Field's house where apprentices needed to learn the technical practices of composing type and pressing pages for publication. For this reason, knowledge of the culture of Field's printing house and his output during Okes's apprenticeship offers insight into Okes's earliest exposure to printing house practice.

Field ran one of the most reputable printing houses in early modern London. He learned his trade from the esteemed Huguenot printer Thomas Vautrollier. Vautrollier, whose clients included William Cecil and King James I, was known for printing impressive editions of foreign language books and Latin text books. Shortly after his master's death in 1588, Field took over Vautrollier's business and house (including his wife) and "became one of the leading stationers in London at the young age of probably about 27" (Kathman). As master, Field continued Vautrollier's practice, similarly specialising in printing "foreign-language books and books about foreign affairs" (Kathman). Field also successfully expanded the business to include English language publications. He regularly produced "books which looked good and which made claims to high literary status, as well as works which sought to define what high literary status was" (Burrow 6). Field's house printed some of the notable literary works of the 1590s, including the first full editions of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (STC 23082, 1596), Sidney's *Arcadia* (STC 22541, 1598), and what Colin Burrow describes as "the most elaborately produced work of vernacular literature of the 1590s": Sir John Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso* (STC 746, 1591) (6). Extant lists in manuscripts MS Rawlinson poet.125 and BL Add. ms 18920 contain detailed directions from the poet Sir John Harington to Field on the printing of his work, suggesting that the printer was open to incorporating the wishes of his writers into his printed texts (Kathman). Field is also known for his first quarto editions of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (STC 22354, 1593) and *Rape of Lucrece* (STC 22345, 1594). Critics believe that the "extremely high" quality printing of these poems not only suggests that they were set from Shakespeare's own "carefully prepared fair copy" but also that Shakespeare was involved in the printing process (Burrow 7; Duncan-Jones 15). Ironically, Nicholas Okes, perhaps one of the most maligned printers in Shakespeare studies, learned the art of

printing in one of the most prestigious printing houses in England from perhaps the most highly regarded of Shakespeare's printers.

If we estimate Okes's time in Field's house conservatively and presume that he spent only the second half of his apprenticeship, from approximately 1599 to 1603, at Field's Wood Street House, a quick look at Field's printing output during those years puts Okes in proximity to multiple editions of Plutarch's *Lives* (STC 20068, 20068a, 20068b;1603), *A Commentarie of M. Doctor Martin Luther upon Epistle of S. Paul to the Galathians* (STC 16970,1602), and King James I's *Basilikon doron* (STC 14353,1603). He would have seen first hand the attention to detail and concentration required to transcribe the words of a King and grown familiar with numerous foreign languages and symbols of science and mathematics (Kathman). As an apprentice printer, Okes would have observed and may have learned how to set the extensive texts in multiple alphabets and intricate marginal glosses in these works: skills which Okes would use in his own work as a master printer.[1] In addition to technical skills, he might also have witnessed the benefits of working in partnership with writers during the printing of their texts, which would later serve him well. Significantly, one genre Field did not print was commercial plays. Like many of his associates who specialised in weightier tomes, Field did not take on the low-paying, quick turn-over printing jobs of pamphlets and plays. This publishing elitism no doubt contributed to the fact that it was not until nearly a year into becoming a master printer that Okes would take on his first commercial playtext. However, while Shakespearean scholars traditionally view Okes's inexperience at play printing as a deficiency responsible for many of the perceived problems of Q1 *King Lear*, it is also a mark of his elite training in Field's house.

Working alongside Field and his journeymen, Okes would observe and eventually help produce some of the most influential texts of his time for a prestigious clientele. Although this training would seem the ideal job for an apprentice printer, scholarship makes little of Field's influence on Okes's work. Blayney's study of Okes's training dispenses with this knowledge in only a few lines (*Texts* 23). This oversight is even more unusual considering that critics include the significance of the master-apprentice lineage in their studies of "good" printers such as Edward Blount and

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[1] Blagden notes that, like master printers and journeymen, the number of apprentices and the jobs they were permitted to do were strictly regulated: "from 1590 there are many notes in the register that apprentices must avoid certain crafts (usually that of printing)" (Blagden 81). This makes it difficult to know exactly what jobs apprentices in printing houses were allowed to do, though logic suggests that it depended on how many journeymen and other apprentices were working in the same house. However, it stands to reason that at some point before taking their freedom, most apprentice printers were taught the basic skills of setting and squaring. See R.B. McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* 7-14 for a detailed description of composing.

William Ponsonby, William Stansby and John Windet, and even Field and Vautrollier.[2] Reading textual details of Okes's early years as a master printer with his training in mind offers a context for many of Okes's decisions, difficulties, and printing practices that provides a foundation for Okes's extended collaboration with Thomas Heywood and insights into his printing of Q1 *Lear.*

2.2 Master Printer

While no one knows where Okes worked immediately after he was freed in 1603, just four years later the Stationers' Company Court records noted Okes's purchase of the printing house owned by brothers Lionel and George Snowdon (Jackson *Court* 12).[3] This was no small task. The young journeyman, without family connections in the Guild, had to locate a house ready for a new owner and secure considerable funds with which to purchase it: approximately £140 according to Blayney (*Texts* 25). He then had to negotiate the sale amidst competition from older, more experienced journeyman (Blayney *Texts* 25). In spite of these obstacles, Okes succeeded and in January 1607 bought out Lionel's position as junior partner in the house. The first imprint bearing Okes's name, *A Brotherly Perswasion to Unitie and Uniformitie* by Thomas Sparke (STC 23019.5, 1607), appeared shortly after. Four months later, an additional entry records Okes buying the share of the second Snowdon brother, George, making Okes master printer of his own house at the age of approximately twenty-seven or twenty-eight (Blayney *Texts* 24-25; Jackson *Court* 24).[4] The business Okes purchased was rather like the house of his former master in that it predominantly produced large, intellectual books frequently of religious content and often in Latin.[5] However, output from the time of Okes's acquisition in early 1607 shows that, upon taking ownership, Okes immediately implemented a new strategy for the printing house.

In their final year of operation, the Snowdons devoted over 90% of their output to books of ten or more sheets (Blayney *Texts* 48-9). However, after only eight months as master printer and including a reprint of a 35 ½ sheet book that was on the press when

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[2] See James Bracken, "William Stansby's Early Career." *Studies in Bibliography* 38 (1985): 214-216; Leah Scragg, "Edward Blount and the History of Lylian Criticism." *The Review of English Studies.* 46 (1995): 1-10; David Kathman, "Richard Field." *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

[3] The exchange is noted in the margin of the entries for 7 April 1605 (Court Book C, fol. 6b).

[4] This mirrors the rapid rise of Okes's former master Richard Field, who was himself about twenty-seven when Vautrollier died and Field became master printer (Kathman). The transfer from George Snowdon to Okes appears in *Court-Book* C, fol. 12a, 13 April 1607.

[5] Appendix 2 of Blayney's *Texts of King Lear* contains a list of the Snowdon's output from 1606-7.

he took over, Okes's average book contained only 7 ½ sheets (Blayney *Texts* 48-9). It is little wonder then that "Okes printed as many books in his first year as a printer as the Snowdons had during their whole career" (Blayney *Texts* 49). Such a dynamic change in size of the jobs Okes took on also resulted in a change in the kinds of books he printed. Weighty theological instruction such as *Institutions of Christian Religion* (STC 3961, 102 sheets), *A Treatise of the Church* by Philip of Mornai (STC 18162, 51 sheets), and *Synonymorum Sylva Olim A Simone Pelegromio Collecta* (STC 19558.7, 32 sheets) were replaced by short pamphlets of topical sermons and speeches such as *The Glory of the Godlie Graine* (STC 4131, 3 sheets), and *The Lord Coke his Speech and Charge* (STC 5491, of which Okes printed 4 sheets), and *Brief Conclusions of Dancers and Dancing* (STC 16875, 3 ½ sheets of which Okes printed 2 sheets). Okes's new output also corresponds to a change in clientele. In *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication*, Zachary Lesser demonstrates, through study of publication outputs, how publishers developed individual repertoires of texts that would appeal to their specific clientele (*Renaissance* 8). Richard Field's output discussed earlier in this section, with an emphasis on mathematical treaties and foreign language texts, suggests a similar kind of specialisation existed amongst early modern printers as well. Publication records for Okes's change in printing output over his first years as master printer support the existence of specialisations amongst both publishers and printers by revealing corresponding changes in length of printing job and in the publishers who hired Okes. In 1606, the Snowdons printed for eleven different publishers.[6] After Okes took over the business in 1607 only two of them, Nathaniel Butter and John Harrison, continued bringing printing jobs to the new owner. To compensate for the loss of business, Okes took on work from eight new publishers in his first year: William Jones, Roger Jackson, Christopher Pursett, Edward Blount, John Orphanstrange, Francis Faulkner and Henrie Bell (together), and William Welby. Okes also ventured into publication himself, publishing and printing a moral treatise dedicated to King James I entitled *Linceaus Spectacles* (STC 16623a, 1607). The bold printing of Okes's name on the title page, in significantly larger size type than its writer, suggests Okes's ambition to be acknowledged as a master printer. As described above, Okes's new publishers brought him significantly shorter texts than those belonging to the Snowdons's publishers. As a result, Okes needed considerably more of those jobs if he

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[6] In 1606, the Snowdons printed work for John Norton, George Bishop, Thomas Man, Thomas Adams, Cuthbert Burby, Edmund Mattes, Clement Knight, John Harrison, George Potter, Matthew Lownes, and Nathaniel Butter. In 1607, Okes printed for William Jones, Roger Jackson, Christopher Pursett, Nathaniel Butter, John Harrison, Edward Blount, John Orphanstrange, Francis Faulkner and Henrie Bell (together), William Welby, and one for himself.

was to keep his press busy. To establish a client base while increasing business would be a tall order for any business man, let alone a young manager just starting out. Yet the list of Okes's output and publishers for 1607 suggests that he handled this problem with a bit of business savvy. Rather than increase the number of jobs on his press by bringing in twice as many publishers, Okes secured business from nearly the same number of publishers as the Snowdons, ten to their eleven, while at the same time increasing his output by securing multiple print jobs from several of his new clients.[7] Okes printed multiple texts for Roger Jackson (3), Christopher Pursett (2), Nathaniel Butter (3), and John Harrison (3). He also printed two texts for the Stationers' Company.

In the space of just eleven years, Okes went from apprentice bookseller to master printer, completely transforming the house he had bought from the Snowdons. The beginning of Okes's career reveals him to be ambitious and unafraid to put new ideas into practice. This change was, as Blayney put it, "as abrupt as it was radical" because it relied on obtaining an entirely new clientele almost immediately (*Texts* 49). Furthermore, in shifting the style of his printing house away from the larger books published by the Snowdons, Okes also moved away from the customers who would have frequented the house of his former employer, Richard Field. With the isolated exception of Edward Blount, whose work with Okes will be discussed shortly, Okes would not be able to rely on the connections or reputation he made for himself during his apprenticeship. Rather, the success of Okes's venture was dependent on the far riskier path of engaging and establishing himself within an entirely new group of publishers who made their fortunes through the publication of more ephemeral texts including plays from the commercial theatre.

2.3 Collaboration with Stationers

Most studies of Okes's work focus on his printing of *King Lear.* However, Okes had been a master printer for less than a year when work on *Lear* began in the winter of 1607/08. The sections which follow provide an extended profile of Okes's dramatic output paying particular attention to moments of textual engagement with dramatists and stationers investing in printed drama. A broader understanding of Okes's approach to dramatic publication reveals a developing printing house practice and repositions Q1 *Lear* as the beginning, rather than as representative, of this early modern stationer's career.

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[7] The additional publishers being the Snowdons's clients, Butter and Harrison, and Okes himself.

With the change in his printing house output from large to smaller print jobs, increased play printing might be expected as part of Okes's shifting of his business to cheaper, more ephemeral texts. On the contrary, printing only one or two play quartos per year, Okes must have regarded dramatic publication as a secondary source of income for his business. It is, however, worth stressing that, in spite of the limited role printed drama played in his business plan, Okes saw through his press plays from nearly every major early modern playwright including: Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton, Heywood, Beaumont, Fletcher, Dekker, Webster, Ford and Shirley. Okes also printed two collections of dramatic quartos. In 1623, while the stationers Edward Blount and William Jaggard were working on the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays, Okes was printing a collection of plays and non-dramatic works by Samuel Daniel entitled *The Whole Works* (STC 6238) for the stationer Simon Waterson.[8] Two years later, Okes printed a play in two parts by George Chapman, *The Conspiracy of Charles Duke of Byron* and *The Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* (STC 4969) as a quarto collection for the publisher Thomas Thorpe. For all of these publications, Okes worked strictly as a printer for publisher/bookseller stationers who hired Okes to print plays that they would then sell from their own shops. Over his career, Okes printed commercial play quartos for twenty-two different publishers, half of whom hired him for multiple jobs.[9] Textual evidence from publications of two of Okes's most frequent customers, the publishers Thomas Archer and Thomas Walkley, offer evidence that Okes actively engaged with these publishers and their texts.

Okes printed five different plays for Thomas Archer: *Two Maids of More-Clacke* (STC 773, 1609), *The Roaring Girl* (STC 17908, 1611), *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (STC 6538, 1612), *The White Devil* (STC 25178, 1612), and *The Insatiate Countess* (STC 17477, 1616). In their first collaboration, the 1609 publication of Robert Armin's comedy *Two Maids of More-Clacke*, Okes accommodates the introduction of a new typographical element in the title page of Archer's quarto. Title pages for the three previous play quartos printed by Okes: *King Lear, The Dumb Knight* (STC 17399, 1608), and Jonson's *The Case is Altered* (STC 14757, 1609), follow the printing house convention of balancing title page composition by offsetting text with a generic printer's device.

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[8] The *Stationers' Register* entry for *The Whole Works* also lists Edward Blount as a shareholder in the assign, but his name does not appear on the imprints.

[9] Okes printed drama for (parenthesis denote more than one publication): Thomas Archer (5), John Bache, William Barrenger (2), Robert Basse, James Becket, John Benson, Walter Burre (2), Nathaniel Butter (2), Richard Collins (2), John Grove, Richard Higgenbotham, William Jones, Benjamin Lightfoot, Samuel Rand, John Spencer (3), Bartholmew Sutton, Thomas Thorpe (2), John Trundle, Thomas Walkley (4), John Waterson, Simon Waterson (2), and John Wright.

The title page of *Two Maids,* however, departs from this practice by including a woodcut illustration of an older gentleman dressed in a hat and long coat with a large pocket attached to his belt (Figure 2.1). Theatre goers browsing at Archer's stall might recognise the character as "IOHN / *in the Hoſpitall*", the role which Armin, in his preface to the play, mentions performing himself (¶1r, 3-4; 2¶r, 11-2). First time readers might take a cue from the title page synopsis that highlights John's "life and ſimple maner" as a key point in the play (¶1r, 3). This image also recalls the stage direction for John's first entry which specifies that he and his companions enter "*in blew coates*", suggesting that whoever orchestrated the design for the illustration had knowledge of the play from either reading or performance (B4r, 13). As one of what Gary Taylor describes as only a "few scattered precedents" of such a specific title page illustration to appear on a play quarto between 1598 and 1609, Okes's printing of this title page identifies him as a key agent involved at the beginning of this significant development of commercial drama in print (Taylor "Lives and After Lives" 42). Okes's awareness of this publication's innovation may have inspired him to put his name prominently in the imprint making *Two Maids* only the second commercial play quarto to bear his name. A couple of years later, in 1611, Okes further accommodates another custom title page wood cut into the second quarto he prints for Archer, Middleton and Dekker's *The Roaring Girl* (STC 17908). Here, in addition to the image of Moll Cutpurse dressed in male attire, the woodcut is accompanied by a motto along the left vertical margin reading "My caſe is alter'd, I muſt worke for my liuing". (Figure 2.2) A paraphrase, rather than an actual line from the play, the motto may refer to Moll's historical inspiration, Mary Firth, and her alleged performance on the stage of the Fortune in spring 1611 dressed in men's clothing (Kahn *Introduction* 721). The motto's reference to an altering "caſe" resonates with Middleton's preface to the edition in which he likens "the faſhion of play-making" to "the alteration in apparell" (A3r, 3, 5). Agreeing to incorporate this feature into the title page meant extra labour for Okes's compositor who, rather than setting blank space evenly on both sides of the woodcut, needed to adjust the blanks on the left side for the extra line of type, a job further complicated by the fact that the line of text does not equal the length of the woodcut. In light of this additional labour, Okes's willingness to include Archer's new typographical feature into his printing job suggests that expedience was not the only factor at work in Okes's printing house. Rather, Okes is shown accommodating the wishes of Archer, who as publisher oversaw the title page design,

and as interested in adapting and further developing his own knowledge of dramatic publication.

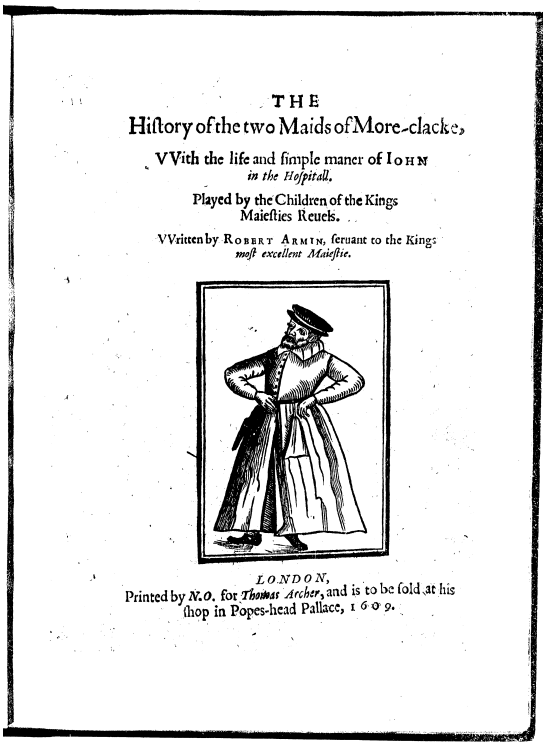

THE
Hiſtory of the two Maids of More-clacke,
VVith the life and ſimple maner of IOHN
in the Hoſpitall.
Played by the Children of the Kings
Maieſties Reuels.
VVritten by ROBERT ARMIN, ſeruant to the King:
moſt excellent Maieſtie.
LONDON,
Printed by *N.O.* for *Thomas Archer*, and is to be ſold at his
ſhop in Popes-head Pallace, 1609.

Figure 2.1 Title page of *Two Maids of More-Clacke* (1609).

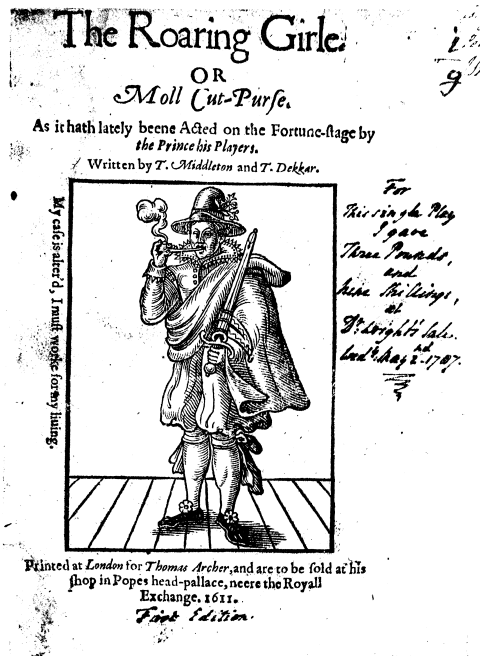

The Roaring Girle:
OR
Moll Cut-Purſe.
As it hath lately beene Acted on the Fortune-ſtage by
the Prince his Players.
Written by *T. Middleton* and *T. Dekkar.*
My caſe is alter'd, I muſt worke for my liuing.
Printed at *London* for *Thomas Archer*, and are to be ſold at his
ſhop in Popes head-pallace, neere the Royall
Exchange. 1611.
Firſt Edition.

Figure 2.2 Title page of *The Roaring Girl* (1611).

Okes also worked repeatedly with the publisher/bookseller Thomas Walkley. Between 1620 and 1622 Okes printed four playbooks for Walkley: the first two editions of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster, or Love Lies a-Bleeding* (STC 1681, 1620 and STC 1682, 1622), a Fletcher and Massinger collaborative tragedy entitled *Thierry and Theodoret* (STC 11074, 1621), and the 1622 first edition of Shakespeare's *Othello* (STC 22305). Walkley's two editions of *Philaster*, hereafter Q1 and Q2, vary significantly for approximately the first one hundred lines, rejoin with approximately 775 variants throughout, and then conclude with Q1 offering a condensed version of a more extended scene in Q2 (Gossett 79). In addition to being a much shorter play, it appears that Q1 was also the product of economical typesetting or compression that may be another instance of Okes accommodating the needs of his publisher. Just starting out as a publisher/bookseller in the early 1620s, Walkley's early career was dogged with financial problems including a number of court disputes with other stationers and an arrest for an unpaid debt of £100 (Lesser *Renaissance* 160). Strapped for cash, Walkley may have looked to reduce costs any way he could. Paper being the most expensive part of book production, it would behoove him to use paper as economically as possible. Evidence that paper costs and availability were a point of contention for Walkley is apparent in a letter written on Walkley's behalf to the court of King James as a suit against the printer John Beale. In 1620, Walkley hired Beale to print 1,500 copies of an edition of poems entitled *The Workes of Master George Wither* (STC 25890). In his letter Walkley testifies that Beale only delivered half the agreed number of books and, moreover, failed to return to Walkley the surplus paper "w[h]ich would have besteeded him in and towards the printing of other Books" (Simpson *Walkley* 276). Possibly short on funds and/or paper but needing to continue publishing, Walkley may have seen the short text of the popular Beaumont and Fletcher play as the perfect match to his circumstances. When he brought it to Okes to print, he may have encouraged the printer to economize on paper where possible. These conditions may account for multiple moments of textual compression in Q1 in which passages of verse are set as prose and stage directions are consistently set in narrow columns along the right margin (Gossett 97). While it is debatable whether these kinds of typographical decisions support Suzanne Gossett's conclusion that Q1 was "badly printed", given Walkley's financial condition, Okes's space saving coincides with, and indeed supports, the circumstances of Walkley's situation. That Walkley was pleased with Okes's Q1 printing can be inferred from the fact that Walkley not only brought him his very next play, *Thierry and Theodoret* but also when he decided to publish a second edition of *Philaster* in

1622 from a different copy, Walkley again chose Okes to print his edition. In the preface to Q2, Walkley comments on Okes's work, stressing that the omissions and variants in the first edition, which he describes as "gaping / wounds" (A2r, 7-8), originated in the copy and that "they were hurt neither by me, / nor the Printer" (A2r, 6-7, 11-2). As printer of both the "wound[ed]" Q1 and the reformed Q2 of *Philaster*, Okes was able to meet the requirements of his publisher (A2v, 5-6). His success no doubt contributed to Walkley's bringing him his next dramatic publication: the 1622 first quarto of *Othello.* The layout of *Othello* might again be seen as Okes balancing an economical approach to space saving with presenting a readable quarto. As in other Okes/Walkley quartos, white space between lines of dialogue and stage directions is kept to a minimum by setting most of the directions in a narrow right column margin alongside the text. However, ample space around each of the act/scene divisions offers readers breaks in the visual stream of print that not only conform to the literary convention of chapters but also suggest an awareness of the quarto's function as a reading text. Other typographical features of Okes's Q1 *Othello,* which also emphasize the virtual performance of the text, will be discussed further in the next section.

Okes's work with publishers of dramatic quartos shows that he took an active role in the production of commercial playbooks. Okes's collaborations early in his career with Thomas Archer suggest an interest in typographical innovation and engagement with new publishing strategies from nearly the beginning of his tenure as a master printer. Okes's work with Thomas Walkley nearly ten years later shows a seasoned printer whose ability to balance economy with visual function makes him an accommodating and supportive collaborator for a struggling new stationer. In both repertoires, Okes's textual intervention shows that the transmission of plays into print encouraged co-operation among the multiple agents responsible for it.

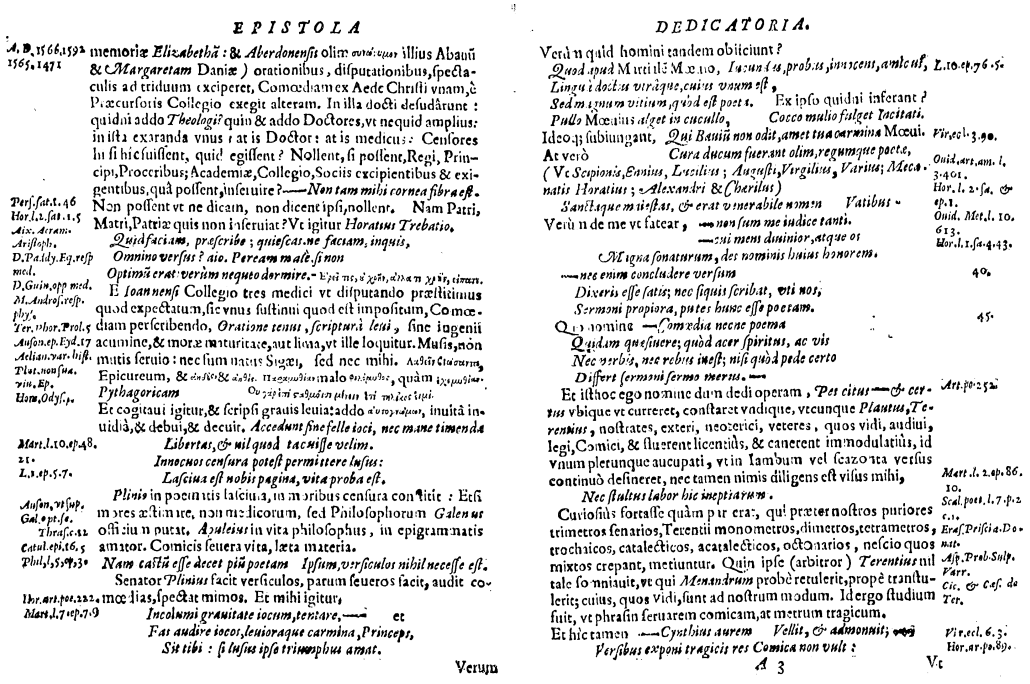
2.4a Collaboration with Dramatists

Okes's dramatic repertoire is not limited to engagement with stationers. In transmitting many of the period's seminal plays from manuscript into print, Okes also engaged directly with the writing, and occasionally the playwrights, responsible for the lasting popularity of the Jacobean theatre. Some quartos, like Q1 *King Lear,* as we will see later in this chapter, show what tended to happen when a play was printed for the first time without the collaboration of its writer. Others, however, reveal the benefits of stationer and writer engagement in the publication process. In these textual spaces, Okes's agency

is visible in moments of co-operative typographical presentation of the writer's text. Perhaps the earliest example of Okes attuning his skills as a stationer to the sentiment of his writer can be found in the 1607 edition of the Latin university play, *Vertumnus* (STC 12555). An allegorical comedy depicting the passing phases of life through the adventures of its title character, *Vertumnus* was written by the physician and playwright Matthew Gwinne, a fellow of St. John's College, Oxford and member of the influential Sidney circle (Wright). Okes's 1607 edition of *Vertumnus* was based on a performance of Gwinne's play that took place on 28th August 1605 before King James I, Henry Prince of Wales, and Queen Anne as part of a state visit to Oxford (Greg *Bibliography* 2, L6; Civek 5). In addition to the play itself, the quarto contains extensive preliminaries also written in Latin, including dedications to Prince Henry and the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, several poems written by Gwinne's physician colleagues testifying to his skills as a playwright, and a final poem from the "*Author ad Librum*" (Author to the Reader). Traditionally, bibliographers do not consider *Vertumnus* as Okes's first play because he printed the title page and the preliminaries and hired the printer George Eld to publish the text of the play. However, Okes claimed responsibility for the printing as a whole with the large imprint "*Ex Officina Nicholai Okes"* on the title page. Peter Blayney determined that "it may usually have been the decision of the printer rather than the publisher" to split a printing job, so it is reasonable to presume that Okes, rather than the play's publisher Edward Blount, made the decision to print the preliminaries and give the text of the play to Eld (Blayney *Texts* 52). Nevertheless, what Okes chose to print offers particular insights into the young printer's work philosophy just prior to his printing of *King Lear.*

While literary criticism may consider Okes's handing over of the playtext to Eld as evidence of his disinterest in dramatic publication, typographically speaking, the preliminaries of *Vertumnus* were no superficial printing job. With elaborate ornamentation to convey the appropriate level of adulation for its royal and noble dedicatees and with verse and prose written in both Latin and Greek, Gwinne's preliminaries were exacting exercises in layout and composition. (Figure 2.3) As such, they were the kind of work with which Okes would have been familiar from his apprenticeship in Richard Field's printing house. Gwinne's dedications also included extensive marginal glosses in which Gwinne seemed "anxious to mention every single instance of verses or phrases taken from classical authors" (Cizek 5). The fact that the dedications printed by Okes were "copiously, almost pedantically annotated" while the playtext printed by Eld was only sparsely annotated, led *Vertumnus'* modern editor

Alexander Cizak to conclude that Gwinne himself supervised the printing of the play at Okes's printing house (5). Cizek's observation suggests the presence of an ever watchful playwright who was more focused on the prefaces than the play itself and that Okes was a printer willing to oblige. Gwinne's suggested participation in the printing of his play offers our earliest evidence of Okes working collaboratively with a dramatist, just months before he printed Q1 *King Lear.*



EPISTOLA

memoriæ *Elizabethæ* : & *Aberdonenſis* olim illius Abauũ & *Margaretam* Daniæ) orationibus, diſputationibus, ſpectaculis ad triduum exciperet, Comœdiam ex Aede Chriſti vnam, è Præcurſoris Collegio exegit alteram. In illa docti deſudârunt : quidni addo *Theologi?* quin & addo Doctores, vt nequid amplius: in iſta exarandâ vnus erat is Doctor: at is medicus: Cenſores hi ſi hic fuiſſent, quid egiſſent? Nollent, ſi poſſent, Regi, Principi, Proceribus; Academiæ, Collegio, Sociis excipientibus & exigentibus, quâ poſſent, inſeruire?—*Non tam mihi cornea fibra eſt.* Non poſſent vt ne dicam, non dicent ipſi, nollent. Nam Patri, Matri, Patriæ quis non inſeruiat? Vt igitur *Horatius Trebatio.*

Quid faciam, præſcribe ; quieſcas me facíam, inquis,
Omnino verſus? aio. Peream male, ſi non
Optima erat verùm nequeo dormire.

E *Ioannenſi* Collegio tres medici vt diſputando præſtitimus quod expectatum, ſic vnus ſuſtinui quod eſt impoſitum, Comœdiam perſcribendo, *Oratione tenui, ſcripturâ leui,* ſine ingenii acumine, & moræ maturitate, aut lima, vt ille loquitur. Muſis, non mutis ſeruio : nec ſum natus Sigæi, ſed nec mihi. Epicureum, & & malo quàm

Pythagoricam

Et cogitaui igitur, & ſcripſi grauis leuia: addo , inuitâ inuidiâ, & debui, & decuit. *Accedunt ſine felle loci, nec mane timenda*

Libertas, & nil quod tacuiſſe velim.
Innocuos cenſura poteſt permittere luſus:
Laſciua eſt nobis pagina, vita proba eſt.

Plinius in poematis laſciuia, in moribus cenſura conſtitit : Etſi mores æſtimare, non medicorum, ſed Philoſophorum *Galenus* officium putat. *Apuleius* in vita philoſophus, in epigrammatis amator. Comicis ſeuera vita, læta materia.

Nam caſtũ eſſe decet pium poetam Ipſum, verſiculos nihil neceſſe eſt.

Senator *Plinius* facit verſiculos, parum ſeueros facit, audit comœdias, ſpectat mimos. Et mihi igitur,

Incolumi grauitate iocum, tentare,—— et
Fas audire iocos, leuioraque carmina, Princeps,
Sit tibi : ſi luſus ipſe triumphus amat.

Verum

DEDICATORIA.

Verùm quid homini tandem obiiciunt?

Quod apud Martiales *Mœuios, Vacuna's, probus, innocens, amicus,*
Lingua doctus virâque, cuius vnum eſt,
Sed vnum vitium, quòd eſt poeta.
Pullo Mœuius *algeat in cucullo,* Ex ipſo quidni inferant?
Cocco multo fulgeat Iacitati.

Ideoque ſubiungant, *Qui Bauiũ non odit, amet tua carmina* Mœui.

At verò *Cura ducum fuerant olim, regumque poetæ,*
(Vt *Scipionis, Ennius, Lucilius* ; *Auguſti, Virgilius, Varius*; *Mecœnatis Horatius* ; *Alexandri* & *Cherilus*)
Sanctaque maieſtas, & erat venerabile nomen Vatibus
Verùm de me vt fatear, *non ſum me iudice tanti.*
—cui mens diuinior, atque os
Magna ſonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.
—nec enim concludere verſum
Dixeris eſſe ſatis; nec ſiquis ſcribat, vti nos,
Sermoni propiora, putes hunc eſſe poetam.
Quo nomine *—Comœdia necne poema*
Quæſtum quæſiuere; quòd acer ſpiritus, ac vis
Nec verbis, nec rebus ineſt; niſi quòd pede certo
Differt ſermoni ſermo merus.—

Et iſthoc ego nomine dum dedi operam, *Per citus—& cer-*
tus vbique vt curreret, conſtaret vndique, vtcunque *Plautus, Terentius*, noſtrates, exteri, neoterici, veteres, quos vidi, audiui, legi, Comici, & ſluerent licentiùs, & canerent immodulatiùs, id vnum plerunque aucupati, vt in Iambum vel ſcazontа verſus continuò deſineret, nec tamen nimis diligens eſt viſus mihi,

Nec ſtultus labor hic ineptiarum.

Curioſiùs fortaſſe quàm par erat, qui præter noſtros puriores trimetros ſenarios, Terentii monometros, dimetros, tetrametros, trochaicos, catalectícos, acatalectícos, octonarios, neſcio quos mixtos crepant, metiuntur. Quin ipſe (arbitror) *Terentius* tale ſonniauit, vt qui *Menandrum* probè retulerit, propè tranſtulerit; cuius, quos vidi, ſunt ad noſtrum modum. Idergo ſtudium fuit, vt phraſin ſeruarem comicam, at metrum tragicum.

Et hìc tamen *—Cynthius aurem Vellit, & admonuit;*

Verſibus exponi tragicis res Comica non vult :

A 3 Vt

Figure 2.3 Pages (A2v-A3r) from the Epistle Dedicatory of *Vertumnus* (1607).

2.4b Expressive Typography - *Othello* (1622) and *'Tis Pity She's A Whore* (1633)

This chapter has already discussed Okes's printing a number of quartos for the stationer Thomas Walkley between 1620 and 1622. I have suggested there that the economical layout of these quartos may in part reflect Okes adapting to Walkley's need for publications that fit within his restricted budget. In addition to being a textual space representative of printer and publisher interaction, I will now show how typographical evidence in Q1 *Othello* and other dramatic quartos printed by Okes reflect his engagement with playwrights and their texts.

One of the most interesting examples of Okes's textual intervention is the extensive presence of repeated dashes "----". Described by H. R. Woudhuysen as "expressive typography", these typographical flourishes serve as visual cues that most frequently appear at moments when one character is interrupted by another ("Foundations" 79, 90). In Q1 *Othello,* this convention seems to have expanded to more sophisticated uses. At 1.3.247-8, Desdemona's speech beginning "Nor I, I would not there reſide, / To put my father in impatient thoughts" ends with a shortened line and a series of dashes that is followed with the Duke's response:

> *Deſd.* And if my ſimpleneſſe. ----
> *Du.* What would you ---- ſpeake. (C4v, 20-1).[10]

Desdemona's and the Duke's half-lines add up to a regular pentameter. However, the dashes after "ſimpleneſſe" also visually resemble a trailing off of Desdemona's voice that leaves the Duke to fill the silence. The presence of these dashes offers additional readings to the line. It could be read as evidence of Desdemona's timidity in the face of male authority figures, causing her to lose the courage to speak and requiring the Duke to finish her thought. The trailing off might also be read as Desdemona only pretending that she is "simple" and using the trailing off as a device to capture the Duke's attention through sympathy. Whatever sense the reader chooses, the visual cue initiated by the dashes in this scene suggests different readings of Desdemona's character at this key moment in the play. Elsewhere in Q1 *Othello*, dashes are used to highlight places where the dialogue (as opposed to stage directions) prompts the action. The pause suggested by dashes at 4.2.25-6 creates a tense silence in which Desdemona can turn towards Othello:

> *Oth*. Let me ſee your eyes -- looke in my face. (K3v, 1)

By separating Othello's line into two commands, the second phrase "looke in my face" has the potential for increased urgency and insistence by suggesting Othello's escalating distress at what he sees; either in her response to his first command or at what he thinks he sees in her eyes. Woudhuysen also notes that dashes were regularly used to denote moments when characters interrupt themselves mid-sentence to think or change

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[10] Act/line/scene numbers for *Othello* refer to E.A.J. Honigmann's Arden 3 edition.

direction("Foundations" 90). This approach is used to best advantage in speeches by Iago to emphasise moments when he is "performing" various roles for other characters. His dramatic pause at 3.3.37, for example, inserts time between when Othello mentions that he has just seen Cassio with his wife and Iago's disingenuous attempt to dispel his fears:

> *Oth.* Was not that *Caſsio* parted from my wife?
> *Iag.* *Caſsio* my Lord? --no ſure, I cannot thinke it, (G1v, 27-8)

Here, expressive typography creates space for the reader to perhaps imagine Iago turning to the audience with a knowing look before returning to the scene to play the concerned friend. In this way typography suggests additional choices for the virtual performance created in the mind of the reader.

A final use of the dashes in Q1 is related to moments of emotional intensity, as at 5.1.62, when Rodrigo dies:

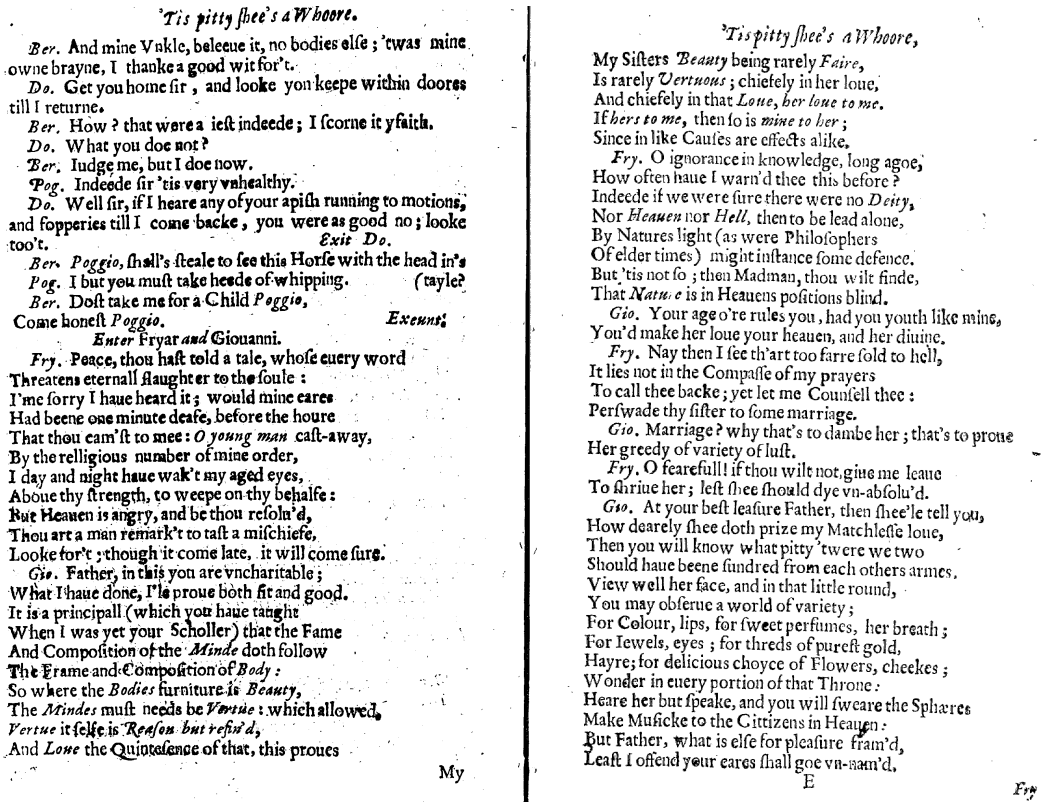
> *Rod.* O dambd *Iago*, O inhumaine dog, -- o,o,o. (L4r, 15)

or to depict Othello's extreme suffering at the realisation of Desdemona's supposed betrayal in 3.3.399:

> *Oth.* Death and damnation -- oh. (H3r, 6)

The frequency of these dashes in Q1, described by Woudhuysen as "telegraphic", generates a dynamic visual code that layers additional effect on the experience of reading Q1 ("Foundations" 90). In the particular case of Q1 *Othello,* the use of dashes extends beyond basic interruptions and produces more subtle effects. It is not my intention to attribute the inspiration for these dashes to Okes because they suggest a level of understanding of the play that, in the context of Okes's other textual intervention, is more characteristic of authorial or even scribal agency than the work of the printer. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge his role in including these marks from the manuscript as part of his transmission of the text. In this way, Okes's professional commitment to the printing of commercial playbooks ensured the preservation of one of the most reader-oriented elements of Q1 *Othello.*

A strikingly similar system of expressive typography appears in another quarto printed by Okes several years later. In 1633 Okes printed the first edition of John Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (STC 11165) for the publisher Richard Collins. While evidence does not place Ford in the printing house during the publication of his play, paratextual dedications in this and other quartos of non-collaborative Ford plays suggest that he was interested in using print to attract patrons from the literary circles of the Inns of Court (Massai *'Tis Pity* 72). Limited substantive textual variants and light emendation during stop-press correction of Q1, often in consultation with the printer's copy, suggests that Ford prepared the manuscript of *'Tis Pity* himself (Massai *'Tis Pity* 72, 77-80). Such a "carefully prepared manuscript copy" is a good opportunity to observe Okes's handling of typographical details (Massai *'Tis Pity* 72). Clearly committed to a carefully crafted, literary presentation of his dramatic works, Ford had a particular habit of writing keywords in italic hand to draw attention to noteworthy words or phrases in dialogue. For example in 2.5, when Giovanni tries to rationalise his feelings for his sister Annabella to the Friar, the words "*Mindes*", "*Vertue*", "*Loue*", "*Beauty*", and "*Faire*" encapsulate Giovanni's argument that love, as the quintessence of reason and virtue, makes their feelings for each other similarly virtuous (D4v, 35, 36, 37; E1r, 1). Additional italics for key parallel phrases like "*hers to me*" and "*mine to her*" visually reinforce both Giovanni's point and the poetic rhythms of the language (E1r, 4). (Figure 2.4) Stemming from what Sonia Massai observes as "Ford's sustained attempt to highlight key issues in relation to the incest motif", Ford's italics offer an additional level of commentary visible only to readers of the printed text (Massai *'Tis Pity* 82). This use of italics appears across Ford's quartos, but as Derek Roper observed in his study of Q1 *'Tis Pity* for his Revels edition, they are unusual in play quartos printed by Nicholas Okes (lxiii). Like the dashes in Q1 *Othello,* the italics in *'Tis Pity* are evidence of an agreement on the part of Okes to transmit this textual element, unique to Ford's work, into his edition. In this way, Okes's printer agency supports the larger publication project of Ford's text which seeks not just to present a readable version of the play, but also to influence the reader's engagement with it and its interpretation. To this end, writer and stationer's agencies collectively developed the unusual dynamic of this textual space. Furthermore, Okes again shows himself to be a printer who is attentive to the particular needs of individual writers as expressed through their texts.



'Tis pitty ſhee's a Whoore.

Ber. And mine Vnkle, beleeue it, no bodies elſe; 'twas mine owne brayne, I thanke a good wit for't.

Do. Get you home ſir, and looke you keepe within doores till I returne.

Ber. How? that were a ieſt indeede; I ſcorne it yfaith.

Do. What you doe not?

Ber. Iudge me, but I doe now.

Pog. Indeede ſir 'tis very vnhealthy.

Do. Well ſir, if I heare any of your apiſh running to motions, and ſopperies till I come backe, you were as good no; looke too't. *Exit Do.*

Ber. *Poggio*, ſhall's ſteale to ſee this Horſe with the head in's

Pog. I but you muſt take heede of whipping. (tayle?

Ber. Doſt take me for a Child *Poggio*,

Come honeſt *Poggio*. *Exeunt;*

Enter Fryar *and* Giouanni.

Fry. Peace, thou haſt told a tale, whoſe euery word Threatens eternall ſlaughter to the ſoule: I'me ſorry I haue heard it; would mine eares Had beene one minute deafe, before the houre That thou cam'ſt to mee: *O young man* caſt-away, By the relligious number of mine order, I day and night haue wak't my aged eyes, Aboue thy ſtrength, to weepe on thy behalfe: But Heauen is angry, and be thou reſolu'd, Thou art a man remark't to taſt a miſchiefe, Looke for't; though it come late, it will come ſure.

Gio. Father, in this you are vncharitable; What I haue done, I'le proue both fit and good. It is a principall (which you haue taught When I was yet your Scholler) that the Fame And Compoſition of the *Minde* doth follow The Frame and Compoſition of *Body*: So where the *Bodies* furniture is *Beauty*, The *Mindes* muſt needs be *Vertue*: which allowed, *Vertue* it ſelfe is *Reaſon but refin'd*, And *Loue* the Quinteſence of that, this proues

My

'Tis pitty ſhee's a Whoore,

My Siſters *Beauty* being rarely *Faire*, Is rarely *Vertuous*; chiefely in her loue, And chiefely in that *Loue, her loue to me.* If *hers to me*, then ſo is *mine to her*; Since in like Cauſes are effects alike.

Fry. O ignorance in knowledge, long agoe, How often haue I warn'd thee this before? Indeede if we were ſure there were no *Deity*, Nor *Heauen* nor *Hell*, then to be lead alone, By Natures light (as were Philoſophers Of elder times) might inſtance ſome defence. But 'tis not ſo; then Madman, thou wilt finde, That *Nature* is in Heauens poſitions blind.

Gio. Your age o're rules you, had you youth like mine, You'd make her loue your heauen, and her diuine.

Fry. Nay then I ſee th'art too farre ſold to hell, It lies not in the Compaſſe of my prayers To call thee backe; yet let me Counſell thee: Perſwade thy ſiſter to ſome marriage.

Gio. Marriage? why that's to dambe her; that's to proue Her greedy of variety of luſt.

Fry. O fearefull! if thou wilt not, giue me leaue To ſhriue her; leſt ſhee ſhould dye vn-abſolu'd.

Gio. At your beſt leaſure Father, then ſhee'le tell you, How dearely ſhee doth prize my Matchleſſe loue, Then you will know what pitty 'twere we two Should haue beene ſundred from each others armes. View well her face, and in that little round, You may obſerue a world of variety; For Colour, lips, for ſweet perfumes, her breath; For Iewels, eyes; for threds of pureſt gold, Hayre; for delicious choyce of Flowers, cheekes; Wonder in euery portion of that Throne: Heare her but ſpeake, and you will ſweare the Spheares Make Muſicke to the Cittizens in Heauen: But Father, what is elſe for pleaſure fram'd, Leaſt I offend your eares ſhall goe vn-nam'd,

E

Fry

Figure 2.4 Italic type (Dv4-E1r) in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (1633).

Ford's quarto also shares a similar use of expressive typography with Q1 *Othello.* The quarto contains examples of the conventional use of dashes for interruptions[11] but there are also instances which suggest more subtle use of this typographical flourish, as in 1.2.196-8 where Giovanni first confronts his sister with his true feelings:

Gio. I thinke you loue me Sifter.

Anna. Yes you know, I doe.

Gio. I know't indeed ----y'are very faire. (C1r, 5-7)

Here, insertion of a typographic pause gives the visual appearance of Giovanni's fading voice as he attempts to change the subject from sibling affection to romantic love. Similarly, in 3.5.33, Richardetto's mental calculations of how to adjust his schemes to

[11] See for example signatures B4v, E1v, and especially E4r.

the quick marriage of Philotis and Bergetto are visualised by the use of solid bars of type:

> *Richard*. To night? why beſt of all; but let mee ſee,
> I — ha — yes, — so it shall be ; (F3r, 15-6)

Here, the complex typographical signals offer readers a visual layout that is reminiscent of Iago's plotting in Q1 *Othello*. *'Tis Pity* also shares with Q1 *Othello* the use of dashes to signal stage action. In 5.5.79, the final kiss before Giovanni reveals his intention to kill Annabella is suggested by the extended solid rules signifying the change in Giovanni's purpose and a shifting of the scene's tone from romantic parting to tragedy.

> *Gio*. Kiſſe mee againe— —forgiue mee. (K1r, 31)

A final use of the dash that appears in both *Othello* and *'Tis Pity* is their appearance at the moment of death or extreme suffering. While there were limited uses of this tactic in *Othello*, *'Tis Pity* hardly lets a character die without a series of "oh" accompanied by at least one string of dashes:

> *Ber*. ...oh---I am going the wrong / way ſure, my belly akes ſo----oh
> farwell, *Poggio*----oh------ / oh---- *Dyes*. (G1r, 5-7)
> *Hip*. ...Hated, ſcorn'd and vnpittied— oh---oh--- *Dyes*. (G4r, 13)
> *Anna*. ...mercy great Heauen---oh--oh. *Dyes*. (K1v, 14)
> *Flo*. Curſed man—haue I liu'd to—— *Dyes*. (K2v, 28)
> *Soran*. My laſt of breath, let not that Lecher liue----oh *Dyes*. (K3r, 27)

While it is unlikely that Okes was responsible for originating the dashes in his editions of *Othello* or *'Tis Pity*, their presence in two Okes quartos by two different playwrights and published by two different stationers strongly suggests Okes's understanding of and commitment to the systematic reproduction of minor but suggestive textual elements. These examples of expressive typography demonstrate an awareness of the function of these marks within the contexts of these plays. As a result they should be recognised as the product of the author and the printer's co-operative engagement with their shared task of manufacturing a readerly text. In this way, Okes's printing of these dramatic

quartos demonstrates a keen understanding of the conventions of dramatic manuscripts. At the same time, his decision to preserve these marks typographically reveals a previously unconsidered sensitivity in Okes's printing practice to how plays function as reading texts.

2.4c: Thomas Middleton and *A Game at Chess*

Recent bibliographical research into the earliest quarto editions of Thomas Middleton's controversial play, *A Game at Chess* (STC 17882, 1625), has brought to light a new example of Okes's collaboration with a Jacobean playwright. While it is generally agreed that Middleton himself produced the manuscript used as printer's copy for the 1625 edition of *A Game at Chess*, "scanty evidence" has left the identity of the printer who produced the quarto hidden (Howard-Hill 6).[12] In 2007, as part of his edition of the play for *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works,* Gary Taylor announced Adrian Weiss's identification of Okes's typeface in the quartos and Nicholas Okes as the printer of the first printed quarto of Middleton's play (Taylor *Game at Chess-Textual Introduction* 717-18). Typographically, Q1 does resemble Okes's other quartos in its inclusion of stacked stage directions. Attribution to Okes in *The Collected Works,* combined with the accepted consensus that the copytext for Q1 was a manuscript in Middleton's own hand,[13] make Q1 ideal for exploring further collaborative practices between Nicholas Okes and another key playwright.

With an unprecedented number of illustrated title pages, paratextual poems, and dedications, the early printed editions of Thomas Middleton's works suggest that the playwright was very interested in the survival of his works in print. Paratextual evidence examined by contributors of *The Collected Works* furthers the idea of Middleton's particular engagement in the textual transmission of *A Game at Chess*. Both John Astington in his essay "Visual Texts: Thomas Middleton and Prints" and Taylor in his textual introduction to the play draw attention to the specificity of the elaborate title page engraving of Q1. (Figure 2.5) Taylor observes that the title page's well-known reference to the play as "Acted / *nine days to gether at the Globe*" is a theatrical detail that would more likely be remembered by the author rather than by the printer when the text was published nine months after the performances (Taylor *Game at Chess-Textual*

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[12] Following *The Collected Works*, I consider the editions traditionally referred to as Q1 and Q2 as two versions of a single edition, hereafter referred to as Q1. Q1 is referred to as "OKES" in the *Collected Works.*

[13] cf. previous *A Game at Chess* editions by Bald (1928), Nascimento (1975), and Howard-Hill (1997).

Introduction 717). Astington likewise traces the content of the speech ribbons for the Fat Bishop and the White and Black Knights in the lower panel of the title page back to Middleton. Such "suitably simplified motifs", paraphrased in the case of the White Knight and the Fat Bishop from lines in the play and from identified source material for particular scenes in the case of the Black Knight, most readily reflect the knowledge of a playwright (Astington 244). This evidence leads Astington to describe Middleton's role in the design and procurement of the engraving as "close and direct" (244). Middleton's hand is also identified in another paratextual device typically associated with printing house engagement. The preliminary poem "The Picture Plainly explained, after the / manner of Cheffe-play" (A1v) explains the idea of the play and represents another device frequently used by playwrights at the time (Taylor *Occasional Poems* 1897nt.). With their multifaceted evidence of Middleton's textual intervention in the quarto, specifically with regards to the play's presentation in print, the scholars of *The Collected Works* make a strong case for Middleton's involvement in the printing of Q1 *A Game at Chess.*

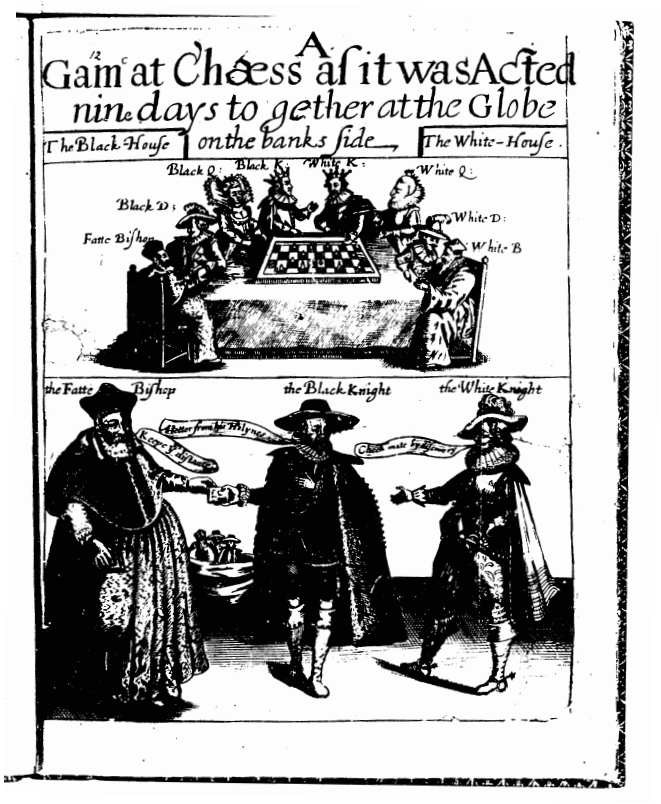

Figure 2.5 Title page of *A Game at Chess* (1625).

The Middleton/Okes collaboration implied by evidence in *The Collected Works* may be further supported by considering Q1 in the context of Okes's printing house

repertoire. Before *A Game at Chess,* Okes was involved in eleven Middleton publications. Okes first came into contact with Middleton's work months after his printing of *King Lear,* when he printed the first quarto of *A Mad World, My Masters* (STC 17888) for Walter Burre. A couple of years later Okes would print *The Roaring Girl*. The title page image of this quarto, with its accompanying paraphrase of Moll's character and matching preface, is a strikingly similar pairing to the title page and preliminaries of *A Game at Chess* discussed above. This evidence suggests Middleton as the most logical source of these paratexts and posits *The Roaring Girl* as perhaps the earliest direct textual collaboration between Middleton and Okes. In addition to his own plays, Middleton also contributed a signed dedicatory verse to the first edition of John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (STC 25176), which was printed by Okes in 1623. However, the most extensive interaction between Okes and Middleton may be the eight civic pageants Okes printed for Middleton between 1613 and 1626.[14] While the *Stationers' Register* records Okes having the publishing rights to only the first Middleton pageant he printed, *The Triumphs of Truth* (STC 17903, 1613), Okes's name is prominently displayed on the title pages of all the Middleton pageants he printed (Arber III, 536).[15] Furthermore, with the exception of *Civitas Amor* (STC 17878, 1616), which he printed for Thomas Archer, Okes is the only known publication agent connected to Middleton's civic pageants as a whole. Whether as publisher/printer or just printer of Middleton's pageants, Okes was the only agent to feature in their transmission into print. It is difficult to believe that a writer as interested in the visual presentation of his work as Middleton would not be aware and familiar with Okes's role in the life of his work in print.

Further support for a Middleton/Okes collaboration in *A Game at Chess* may be found in more subtle characteristics of Okes's printing practice. In 1624, Okes printed an edition of Thomas Scott's *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (STC 22103.7), a pamphlet advertising the "*treacherous & subtile Practifes / To the ruine as well of England*" of Don Diego Sarmiento, Count of Gondomar and Spanish ambassador at the court of King James as a major selling point. Astington notes parallels between Middleton's Black Knight and the visual representation of Gondomar, pictured with his litter and "chair of ease" on the title page of *Vox Populi* as evidence that Middleton used Okes's edition as inspiration for his play (*Game at Chess-Later Form* 4.2.3; Astington 239). As an historical figure,

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[14] *The Triumphs of Truth* (STC 17903, 1613), *The Entertainment on Michaelmas Day 1613* (STC 17904, 1613), *Civitas Amor* (STC 17878, 1616), *The Triumphs of Honor and Industry* (STC 17899, 1617), *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity* (STC 17902, 1619), *The Triumphs of Honor and Virtue* (STC 17900, 1622), *The Triumphs of Integrity* (STC 17901, 1623), and *The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity* (STC 17898, 1626).

[15] Okes registered *The Triumphs of Truth* 3 Nov. 1613.

Gondomar stands as a unifying symbol for Jacobean feelings against possible English connections with Spain and the nation's opposition to the idea of a Catholic, Spanish Queen, which would result from the "Spanish Match" (Taylor *Game at Chesse- Early Form* 1774). Such blatant criticism of a foreign ambassador no doubt made *Vox Populi* a risky publishing venture for both Scott and Okes as confirmed by the book's title page, which does not give its author's name and provides only the pseudonym imprint "Printed at Goricon by Ashuerus Janss" for the responsible printing house. However, Okes's association with texts supporting anti-Spanish or anti-Catholic sentiment goes back even further than *Vox Populi*. This chapter has already discussed how Okes printed two editions of *Philaster* and the first edition of *Theirry and Theodoret* for the publisher Thomas Walkley. In *Renassaince Drama and the Politics of Publication,* Zachary Lesser reads these two play quartos as Walkley's appealing to staunch English Protestant sentiment against the Spanish match and Spanish corruption of King James' rule (*Renaissance* 194, 195-7). Lesser also argues that Walkley's market of readers in Britain's Burse "likely associated Walkley's books with [Thomas] Scott's" (*Renaissance* 200). As printer for both Walkley's and Scott's texts, Okes becomes a prominent agent in publications that consistently challenged the foreign policy of King James. That these texts were expected to skirt the boundaries of propriety may explain why Okes printed them but consistently withheld his name from their title pages. In his professional dealings with Okes himself, Middleton may have seen Okes as sympathetic to the anti-Spanish position. With Okes's printing of Q1 *Philaster* just months after Middleton's *The Triumphs of Love's Antiquity* and Q2 in the same year as Middleton's *The Triumphs of Honour and Virtue,* it is possible that Middleton's texts were also in Okes's house as the printer was pressing Walkley's plays. Okes's discrete handling of controversial, yet popular, plays and pamphlets, which shared the same controversial sentiments as Middleton's play, may have presented Okes as the perfect printer for such a contentious play as *A Game at Chess*.

In addition to offering a discrete business, sympathetic to the issues expressed in Middleton's play, Okes's house also offered a particular level of technical expertise required for printing the edition. Okes's printing of *A Game at Chess* was the first play quarto to include an engraved title page illustration rather than a woodcut. As the printer of some of the earliest illustrated title pages, *Two Maids of More-Clacke* and *The Roaring Girl*, Okes was used to unusual title pages. In the case of Middleton's play, Okes's consent to participate in this innovative publication becomes even more significant since engravings involved both additional time and tools. Images on engraved blocks where transferred to paper using a rolling press. Unlike hand presses, which pushed the paper

down onto the type, a rolling press squeezed both plate and paper tightly together (Astington 228). As a result, including an engraved image on a hand pressed book required that the necessary sheets be pressed twice, the second time on a rolling press. An extra step that not only required additional skills and equipment but also translated into extra time and labour, the engraved image on Middleton's quarto suggests an exceptional commitment by Okes to this print job. In his study of engraved title pages, Astington also suggests that the mismatched size of the engraving, which was larger than the rest of the quarto pages, and multiple visible scratches that appear to be made to the engraved plate before printing are evidence "of haste or uncertainty in the production of the plate" (240). If the plate was being rushed, it may have been to coincide with completion of the first round of pressing the playtext. Modern editors consistently describe the quality of the printing of the rest of Q1 as "the worst" to "abominable" (Bald 31; Howard-Hill 8). While most categorise the condition of the quarto as merely an extreme example of "Okes's usual sloppiness", only Taylor considers the possibility that the quality of the quarto may be the result of Okes's rush to meet demand for copies of Middleton's play (Taylor *Chess-Introduction* 718). This dissertation is the first to suggest that the same haste also affected the reproduction of the engraving on its title page. If, as Taylor suggests, Okes was in a hurry to complete his edition to meet a market demand, then inclusion of the engraved image would put extra pressure on his already tight schedule. Even if he was able to press the engraving in his own house, Okes would need to adjust his printing of the first signature in order to accommodate the second pressing of the plate. In a hurry to meet demand, he would no doubt find ways to compensate for the extra time which might include skipping proofreading and stop-press correction.

In spite of the extra work surrounding the engraved title page and hasty turn-around, Okes may have ultimately agreed to print the play because he knew he was getting in on a profitable publication venture. Not long after Q1 appeared, Okes began printing additional copies which included multiple instances of standing type from Q1, suggesting that someone involved in the publication expected to need more copies relatively soon after *A Game at Chess* first appeared in print. At the same time, it is impossible to ignore the fact that, with a controversial subject matter, an unusual title page, and time pressures, *A Game at Chess* was in no way a typical or particularly easy job for Okes. Rather his involvement with the publication of this play, from his decision to accept the job, to his execution, to the success of the final product, shows how far Okes was prepared to go in order to meet even the most exceptional requirements of a

beleaguered author like Middleton, whose play had recently been banned from the stage. For this reason, the textual space of *A Game at Chess* may be the most profound example of Okes's collaboration with a playwright in a single publication.

Over the course of his career, Nicholas Okes made a living from collaborating with the stationers and writers whose work he printed. From his training in Richard Field's printing house, Okes acquired a wide range of skills which he then adapted to the needs of his clientele. For publishers and booksellers like Thomas Archer and Thomas Walkley who brought him their plays, this included sustained attention to the technical details of printing their larger publication projects. For playwrights like Ford, Gwinne, and especially Middleton this meant the translation of individual traits of their writing and visions of publication into print. As a result, Okes's printed playbooks record the combined efforts of stationers and playwrights in the production of readerly texts. Thus, Okes's dramatic repertoire reveals a significant contribution to the development of commercial drama as a reading form. The extent of Okes's engagement with commercial drama is even more intriguing because, as a genre, printed plays comprised only a small percentage of his business. As a result, it may be the co-operative environment of Okes's house that led many playwrights to choose Okes as the printer of their dramatic works, including Middleton, Heywood, and Thomas Dekker, all of whom regularly chose Okes as the printer of their city pageants.[16]

Part 2 - Nicholas Okes and Thomas Heywood

2.5 Ornaments of Collective Agency

Thus far, this chapter has considered Nicholas Okes's interactions with stationers and playwrights as a collaborative printer. Part Two of this chapter takes a comprehensive look at the early years of Okes's only extended publishing collaboration with a commercial dramatist. Textual scholars frequently cite Thomas Heywood's preface to his *The Rape of Lucrece* (STC 13360, 1608) as evidence of the playwright's disinterest in dramatic publication. Unlike his contemporaries who "haue used a double sale of their labours, first to the Stage, and after to the presse", Heywood's claim that he was "euer faithfull in the first, and never guiltie of the last" is often considered representative of the playwright's resistant approach to publication for most of his career (A2r 8-11). Most

[16] Further research into Okes's publication repertoire of masques and pageants is needed and will no doubt reveal additional connections between Nicholas Okes and these printing house dramatists.

scholars agree that, towards the end of his career, Heywood shows interest in publication, but disagree on when the playwright began participating in the publishing of his plays and the extent of his role. Douglas Brooks believes that Heywood preferred performance over publication until the 1630s, when he experienced a "sudden change of heart toward the printing house ...directly linked to the project of publishing a collection of the *Age* plays" (200). David Bergeron sees Heywood's relation to the press as generally more harmonious. Rejecting Brooks's image of Heywood "on the sidelines" of a print marketplace he found "unappealing" for most of his career, Bergeron reads in Heywood's prefaces "signs of a playwright thoroughly in tune with the operations of textual patronage" (Brooks 189; Bergeron 196, 161-2).

Recently, scholars have reconsidered Heywood's attitude towards dramatic publication in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. Bergeron sees Heywood transitioning from considering audiences to addressing readers in the early prefaces to *The Rape of Lucrece, An Apology for Actors*, and the first three parts of the *Ages* (167). He also notes glimpses of Heywood's future literary ambitions in the preface to the 1613 edition of *The Silver Age* (STC 13365) in which Heywood refers to the partially published series of *Age* plays with the literary title "Worke" (Bergeron 167). However, Bergeron resists the idea of Heywood's early participation in publication more generally by insisting that playwrights like Heywood had "very little control over their art, ever subject to piracy and illegitimate publication" (Bergeron 164, 166). Bergeron's assertion that any early interest in print Heywood might have had was limited by the "plight of the writer versus publication and printers" restricts the textual narrative of Heywood's dramatic publications to an antagonistic, single agency model of textual transmission where rogue stationers transmitted plays into print without their authors' consent (166). In her study of editorial agents, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor,* Sonia Massai finds evidence of Heywood's early interest in dramatic publication in the regular appearance of the playwright's name on numerous prefaces and title pages between 1607 and 1608 (*Rise* 166*)*. Massai notes how the frequency of Heywood's paratextual attribution is exceptional when compared to other contemporary English playwrights in general and highly unusual for commercial drama at the start of the seventeenth century (*Rise* 166). Furthermore, Massai sees this evidence as proof that even while Heywood was writing for the Queen's Men, he was already working with printing house agents. Massai is therefore the first scholar to suggest that Heywood "engaged fruitfully and systematically with the press" (*Rise* 166). However, despite redressing views about Heywood's attitude

towards dramatic publication, connections between Heywood and the stationers who printed his works are yet to be examined in detail.

A handful of scholars refer to the numerous Heywood publications to come from Nicholas Okes's printing house, but few consider these texts as sites of shared textual authority. While Brooks acknowledges "Heywood's long-standing relationship with Nicholas Okes", he insists that Heywood found publication "unappealing" for the majority of his career (201). Sonia Massai is more appreciative of the influence this "crucial element of continuity" had on the early careers of both Okes and Heywood but, like Bergeron, does not consider Okes's contributions to Heywood's publication as part of an extended collaboration (*Rise* 167). As a result, the most explicit commentary on their collaboration, Heywood's dedication "To my approued good Friend, Mr. Nicholas Okes" in *An Apology for Actors* is frequently discounted as more motivated by Heywood's displeasure with the work of William Jaggard than as an appreciation of Okes (Massai *Rise* 167; Bergeron 164). Some prominent inconsistencies are overlooked by this approach. Heywood was consistently able to authorise his play quartos through a variety of paratextual interventions and while scholars insist that Heywood's textual authority was limited by the printing house, Heywood praised Okes's attention to his text and in a preface to *Greene's Tu Quoque, or, the Cittie Galant* (STC 673, 1614) even admitted to hanging around his printing house. While most stationers were predominantly involved in reprints of only a couple of Heywood titles, Okes contributed to the transmission of nine different Heywood plays, eight of them first editions, becoming thus responsible for the largest Heywood repertoire of any early modern stationer.[17] Such involvement over multiple publications provides a unique opportunity to observe an extended textual collaboration between playwright and stationer. Part Two of this chapter considers, for the first time, a repertoire of texts jointly produced by Nicholas Okes and Thomas Heywood as products of textual collaboration. Focusing on the first four texts of Okes and Heywood's shared repertoire, *The Golden Age, An Apology for Actors, The Silver Age,* and *The Brazen Age,* my analysis of typographical and paratextual evidence will highlight moments of textual interaction as a way to assess the quality and nature of collective textual agency in these texts. Considering Okes's stationer agency alongside Heywood's writerly presence will create a profile of the distribution of authority in these textual spaces from which to assess how

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[17] For example, Nathaniel Butter's name appears on 14 imprints of only three publications: 1 & 2 *If You Know Not Me* and *The Rape of Lucrece.* Okes printed the first editions of *The Golden Age* (1611), *The Silver Age* (1613), *The Brazen Age* (1613), *1 & 2 The Iron Age* (1632), *The Four Prentices of London* (1615), *A Maidenhead Well Lost* (1634), and *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject* (1637).

each agent contributed to the construction of these texts. This research offers new insights into the extended collaboration between stationer and playwright while adding to our knowledge of Nicholas Okes's engagement with dramatists actively interested in the dissemination of their works into print.

2.5a Ornaments of Collaboration: *The Golden Age*

Heywood's own writing on his experiences with publication reveals an interest in the physical presentation of his printed work. In his preface to *The Rape of Lucrece* (STC 13360, 1609), Heywood expresses particular displeasure that his plays were "beeing publiſht / in ſuch ſavadge and ragged ornaments" (A2r,17-8). Heywood's particular use of the word "ornament" is suggestive of the Latin *ornamentum*, a keyword in rhetorical language used to describe "equipment necessary to performing a particular function" (Alexander 380). Textual analysis of *The Golden Age* and the other Heywood publications which follow suggests that his interest in textual ornaments not only took the form of the addresses and dedications for which Heywood is well-known but also the kinds of typographical flourishes regularly seen in Okes's publications.

Okes's first encounter of Heywood's work, his printing of *The Golden Age* (STC 13325, 1611) for the publisher/bookseller William Barrenger does not, at first glance, seem exceptional in this regard. Okes does not include his name on the imprint of *The Golden Age,* suggesting that William Barrenger was the impetus and money behind the publication. However, as in other dramatic quartos printed by Okes early in his career, typographical evidence soon reveals the mark of Okes's textual intervention. Prominently bearing the date 1610, the printer's device on the title page of *The Golden Age* was relatively new to Okes's type case, appearing on only two non-dramatic texts prior to Heywood's play.[18] The device is large and oval shaped, taking up about one-third of the quarto page, its boldness reminiscent of the size of Okes's name in the *Vertumnus* imprint. It is first identified with Okes by McKerrow and later by Greg on account of the large "N" and "O" framing the centre illustration and the inscription "NI=COLIS ARBOR IOVIS" filling the left side of the frame (McKerrow *Devices* 367; Greg *Bibliography* 294).[19] (Figure 2.6) The description of Okes as "Nicholas the tree of

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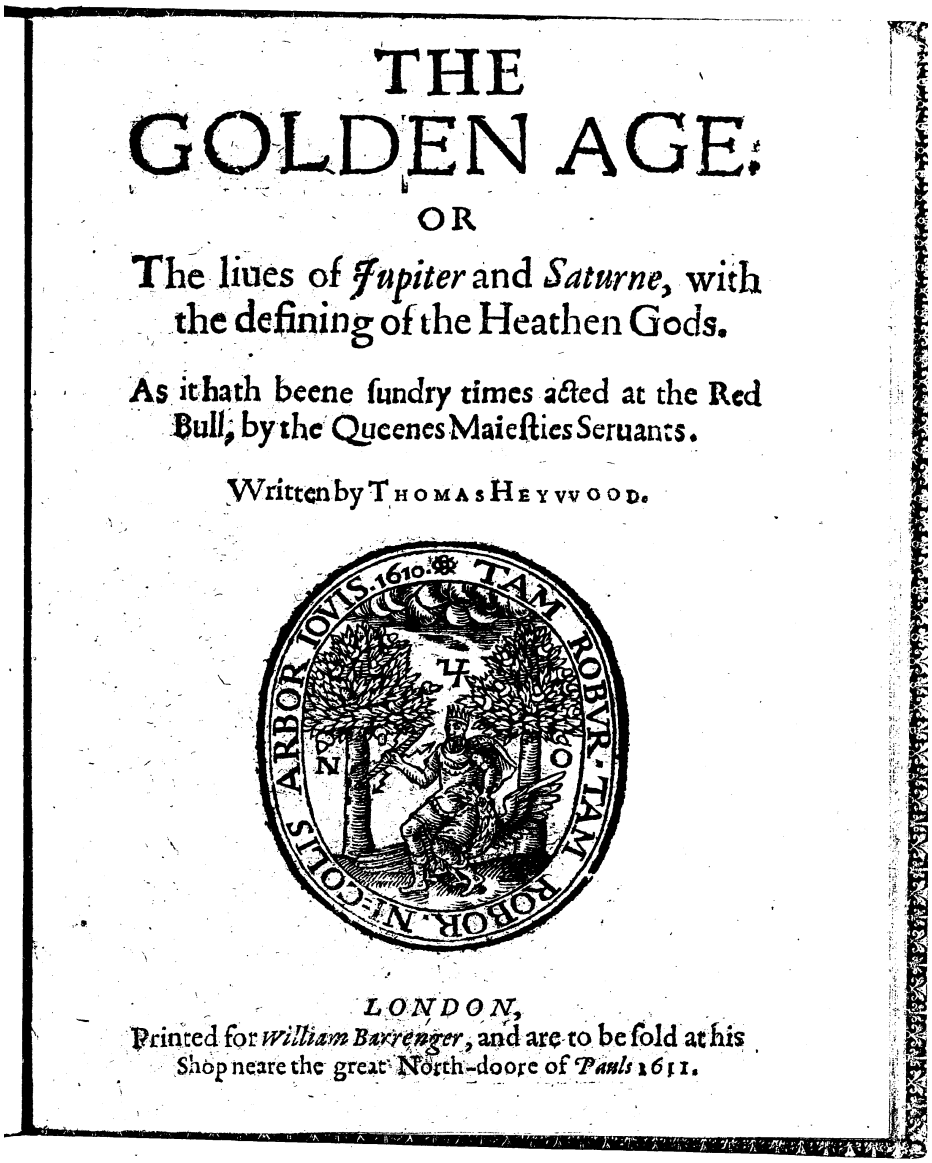
[18] The two texts were *Christ's Kingdom* (STC 25150, 1610; 25150a, 1611) and *The Oath of Allegeance* (STC 14267, 1610). The device appears on four additional Okes publications, all non-dramatic texts, before it is used again on Heywood's *1 The Iron Age* (STC 13340 (i), 1632).

[19] The motto "TAM ROBVR - TAM ROBOR" in the lower half of the frame is described by McKerrow as "gibberish" (*Devices* 367).

Jove" is linked to the image at the centre of the device of Jove sitting astride an eagle, wearing a crown and holding a staff in one hand and lightning bolts in the other. Jove is pictured between two trees, which by virtue of the large acorns they bear are meant to be identified as oaks, Jove's sacred tree and one of his symbols. The pun connecting the printer's name to classical mythology is amusing, and Okes's decision to associate himself with the classical god suggests a level of confidence. When considered alongside the nonsensical Latin motto "TAM ROBVR - TAM ROBOR" on the other side of the frame, the whole device seems a parody of more serious coats of arms. However, on further examination it is evident that this device was selected for more than its wit. One of the final moments of *The Golden Age* features a dumb show in which the Fates summon Saturn's three sons: Jove, Neptune, and Pluto to draw lots to determine who will reign over the dominions of heaven, sea, and hell. According to the stage direction, Jupiter draws "*heauen*" at which point: "Iris *defcends and prefents / him with his Eagle, Crowne and Scepter, and his thunder-bolt.* Iupiter / *firft afcends upon the Eagle, and after him* Ganimed" (K2v, 5-7). Okes's printer's device goes beyond depicting the play's extended title: "THE /GOLDEN AGE. / OR / The liues of *Jupiter* and *Saturne,* with / the defining of the Heathen Gods" and visually documents a key dramatic moment of the play's conclusion. In short, Okes's device functions much like the illustrated woodcuts that had only begun appearing on play quartos in the early decades of the seventeenth century. As a result, the coordination of title page and text of *The Golden Age* gave Heywood one of the early examples of this typographical innovation in printed drama.

The design of the title page is traditionally thought to be determined by the publisher, however, it is unlikely that the publisher of *The Golden Age,* William Barrenger, knew of this device (Blayney, *Publication* 405). Barrenger was a relatively new publisher himself and not involved with either of the two Okes publications where the device previously appears. Okes, on the other hand, would not only be well aware of his own device but, as already discussed, was also familiar with this emerging trend in printed plays through his printing of *Two Maids of More-Clacke* in 1609 and *The Roaring Girl* in 1611. Okes is therefore the most logical agent behind the use of the Jove device. As a result, what first appears as blatant self promotion now looks like Okes tailoring his typographical resources to promote Heywood's play. Okes's ability to invest his own authority into an area of the text normally deemed the realm of the publisher and playwright suggests that Okes was paying extra attention to this text by applying what he learned from other printing jobs to this new edition.



THE
GOLDEN AGE:
OR
The liues of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*, with
the defining of the Heathen Gods.

As it hath beene ſundry times acted at the Red
Bull, by the Queenes Maieſties Seruants.

Written by THOMAS HEYVVOOD.

ARBOR IOVIS. 1610. TAM ROBVR. TAM ROBOR. NI. COLS

LONDON,
Printed for *William Barrenger*, and are to be ſold at his
Shop neare the great North-doore of *Paules* 1611.

Figure 2.6 Title page of *The Golden Age* (1611).

Heywood also contributes to the ornaments of *The Golden Age.* In his preface, Heywood demonstrates his interest in the presentation of this play by admitting that, even though the play came "accidental- / ly to the Preſſe", he was "loath...to ſee it thruſt / naked into the world, ...without either / Title for acknowledgement, or the / formality of an Epiſtle for orna- / ment" (A2r, 2-3, 4-10). Heywood's use of "ornament" and clothing metaphors again in this preface emphasises a concern that his plays are seen in the dressings he believes appropriate for printed drama. Heywood's interest in the paratextual ornaments of this play also had an effect on his two young stationers, Okes and Barrenger. In addition to the preface, *The Golden Age* includes a list

of "The Names of Perſons preſented / *in the Play*" (A2r). Neither Okes nor Barrenger had printed such a list in a dramatic publication before. However Heywood printed his first *dramatis personae* in his 1608 *The Rape of Lucrece*. The idea that a stationer would appropriate such a literary element from a playwright is not without precedent. Zachary Lesser notes how Walter Burre adopted several of Jonson's more successful literary and typographical preferences, such as the use of Latin mottos and the practice of "continuous printing", into subsequent dramatic publications (*Renaissance* 65-6). The fact that Okes's next printed play, Dekker and Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* includes a *dramatis personae* presents the possibility that, as with Okes's illustrating *The Golden Age* title page, a previously unknown paratextual element is now appropriated into Okes's printing practice. Furthermore, the appearance of the *dramatis personae* is yet another instance where Okes, when presented with a new feature in a commercial play quarto, is willing to include it in his printing.

With his use of the Jove printer's device, Okes introduced a new typographical feature into Heywood's publication of *The Golden Age* that supplemented the marketing of the quarto with printing house knowledge of current trends. Within the same quarto, Heywood's awareness of the function and impact of his writerly presence in the preface infused the textual space of *The Golden Age* with the authority of its playwright. In addition, by incorporating the *dramatis personae* into the text, a literary convention previously unseen in Okes's repertoire, the influence of Heywood's writerly agency is not only accepted as part of the publication project but also expanded Okes's printing house practice. In this way, the paratexts of *The Golden Age* reveal a textual space where playwright and stationer cross traditional boundaries of textual authority to inform the intervention of other agents. At the same time, these individual contributions collectively contribute to Heywood's larger desire to "com- / mit it [the play] freely to the generall cenſure of Readers" (A2, 13-4). As a result, *The Golden Age* stands as an intriguing first example of Okes and Heywood actively collaborating in the printing process.

2.5b: Ornaments of Collaboration: *An Apology for Actors*

The collaborative engagement initiated in *The Golden Age* develops further in Okes and Heywood's next publication: *An Apology for Actors* (STC 13309, 1612). As writer of this rhetorical defence of actors in society, Heywood takes a central role as direct

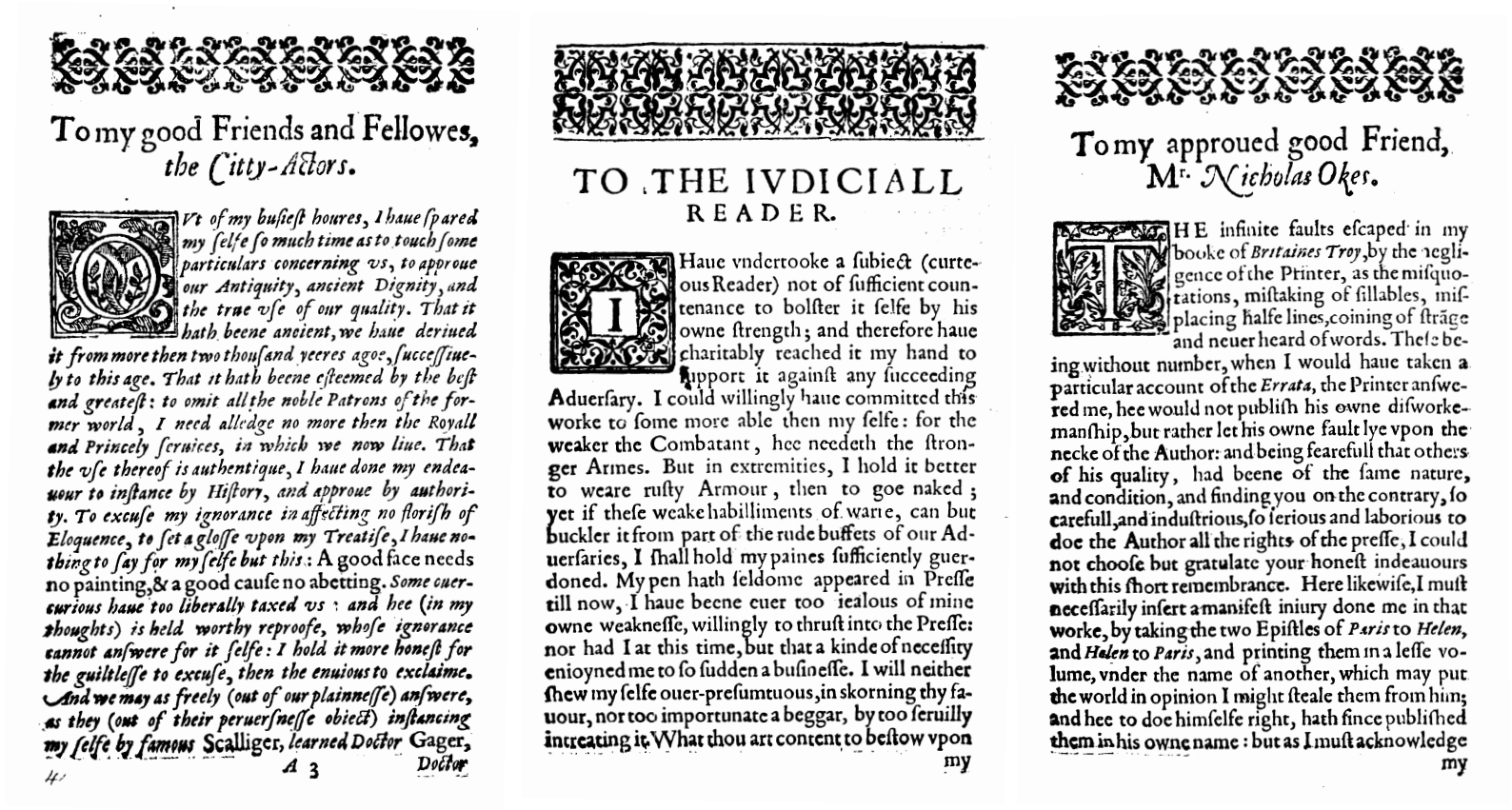
intermediary between his text and the printing house. Okes's authority also significantly increases in this text as he assumes for the first time the dual roles of Heywood's publisher and printer. As a result, *Apology* is a textual space where Heywood and Okes develop a typographical symmetry unrestricted by the dictates of other playhouse or printing house agents. The text of *Apology* possesses many ornaments of literary texts. However, as in *The Golden Age*, it is the connection of typography and content in the paratexts where the story of Okes and Heywood's collaboration is most visible. *Apology* contains four dedicatory prefaces all signed by Heywood. Signature A contains three of these dedications: one to his patron the Earl of Worcester (A2r), a second to his "good Friends and Fellowes, / *the Citty-Actors*" (A3r), and a third "TO THE IVDICIALL / READER" (A4r). The final leaf of *Apology* contains Heywood's fourth dedication addressed "To my approued good Friend, / Mr. *Nicholas Okes*" (G4r-v). Although it is addressed to Okes, Heywood's fourth dedication is best known for his complaints against William Jaggard, particularly the stationer's unauthorised printing of Heywood and Shakespeare's poems in *The Passionate Pilgrim* (STC 22342, 1599). However, another less frequently quoted section of the dedication offers insight into Okes and Heywood's collaborative relationship:

> ...and being fearefull that others / of his quality, had beene of the ſame nature, / and condition, and finding you on the contrary, ſo / carefull, and induſtrious, ſo ſerious and laborious to / doe the Author all the rights of the preſſe, I could / not chooſe but gratulate your honeſt indeauours / with this ſhort remembrance.
>
> (G4r, 13-19)

Praise of Okes in Heywood's own words suggests that the two had a successful professional association by the printing of *Apology* in 1612. However, in light of Okes's printing of *King Lear* and Heywood's perceived general dislike of publication, modern scholarship tends to discount Heywood's compliments. Instead, Heywood's praise of Okes is dismissed as "not entirely justified" and the preface motivated more by Heywood's anger at Jaggard than a tribute to Okes (Blayney, *Texts* 295; Massai, *Rise* 167). Yet, analysis of typographical details in *Apology* lends authority to the idea of an early, successful collaboration between stationer and playwright. Furthermore, by validating Heywood's depiction of Okes in this dedication, the discussion that follows supports a profile of Okes as actively engaged in textual collaboration with playhouse agents.

The prefaces to *Apology for Actors* are another example of typographical symmetry of content and presentation facilitated by Okes's printing skills. Each of the three prefaces in *Apology* is headed with a row of ornaments, an address to the dedicatee, and a large decorated initial. These details provide the three pieces of writing with a visual unity that suggests care and a certain level of prestige for the prefaces and the book in general. Closer examination reveals that each preface also conveys a carefully calibrated uniqueness. The head ornaments of each preface are noticeably different so no one can claim that the border used on the Earl of Worcester's page is the same as the one used to address the judicial reader. The names of the dedicatees are also presented in varying sizes and styles of type. The Earl of Worcester is addressed in the largest typeface and the City Actors and the Judicial Reader are presented in two different fonts: the actors in a mix of roman and italic and the reader in small roman capitals. Noticeably smaller than the type used on the Earl's address, the type on these two titles reflects the social hierarchy of Heywood's dedicatees. This alternating pattern repeats in the size and style of type used for the body of each dedication. The Earl is given the largest type face and also the largest decorated initial while the actors and readers are addressed in different typefaces, italic and roman respectively, that are of equal size yet smaller than the type used for the Earl's dedication.

This carefully coordinated typography also indicates an attempt to privilege the city actors, whose dedication appears second in the group, without insulting the "IVDICIALL READER" who is acknowledged after the actors in the last position. Heywood's intended readers were most likely gentlemen of a higher social class than the actors and, as potential buyers of Heywood's pamphlet, were an important source of financial patronage. By contrasting the minuscule address and italic font of the actors' preface with the larger head ornament and roman capital of the address to the reader, the two prefaces offset the preferential position given to the actors by favouring the reader with a visually bolder look. (Figure 2.7) Preference for the actors is also visible in the text of the preface itself. Heywood's defence of the actors' "*Antiquity, ancient Dignity, and / the true vſe of* ***our*** *quality*" (A3r, 3-7) provides an underlying motivation for the actors' elevated position within the textual hierarchy just described. However, the execution of the typographical details which provided the necessary balance between actor and reader would have been the product of the abilities of Okes and his compositors. In this way, the prefaces of *An Apology for Actors,* show the contributions of



To my good Friends and Fellowes, *the Citty-Actors.*

VT of my buſieſt houres, I haue ſpared my ſelfe ſo much time as to touch ſome particulars concerning vs, to approue our Antiquity, ancient Dignity, and the true vſe of our quality. That it hath beene ancient, we haue deriued it from more then two thouſand yeeres agoe, ſucceſſiuely to this age. That it hath beene eſteemed by the beſt and greateſt: to omit all the noble Patrons of the former world, I need alledge no more then the Royall and Princely ſeruices, in which we now liue. That the vſe thereof is authentique, I haue done my endeauour to inſtance by Hiſtory, and approue by authority. To excuſe my ignorance in affecting no floriſh of Eloquence, to ſet a gloſſe vpon my Treatiſe, I haue nothing to ſay for my ſelfe but this: A good face needs no painting, & a good cauſe no abetting. *Some ouercurious haue too liberally taxed vs: and hee (in my thoughts) is held worthy reproofe, whoſe ignorance cannot anſwere for it ſelfe: I hold it more honeſt for the guiltleſſe to excuſe, then the enuious to exclaime. And we may as freely (out of our plainneſſe) anſwere, as they (out of their peruerſneſſe obiect) inſtancing my ſelfe by famous* Scalliger, *learned Doctor* Gager, *Doctor*

A 3

TO THE IVDICIALL READER.

IHaue vndertooke a ſubiect (curteous Reader) not of ſufficient countenance to bolſter it ſelfe by his owne ſtrength; and therefore haue charitably reached it my hand to vpport it againſt any ſucceeding Aduerſary. I could willingly haue committed this worke to ſome more able then my ſelfe: for the weaker the Combatant, hee needeth the ſtronger Armes. But in extremities, I hold it better to weare ruſty Armour, then to goe naked; yet if theſe weake habilliments of warre, can but buckler it from part of the rude buffets of our Aduerſaries, I ſhall hold my paines ſufficiently guerdoned. My pen hath ſeldome appeared in Preſſe till now, I haue beene euer too iealous of mine owne weakneſſe, willingly to thruſt into the Preſſe: nor had I at this time, but that a kinde of neceſſity enioyned me to ſo ſudden a buſineſſe. I will neither ſhew my ſelfe ouer-preſumtuous, in skorning thy fauour, nor too importunate a beggar, by too ſeruilly intreating it. What thou art content to beſtow vpon my

To my approued good Friend, Mr. *Nicholas Okes.*

THE infinite faults eſcaped in my booke of *Britaines Troy*, by the negligence of the Printer, as the miſquotations, miſtaking of ſillables, miſplacing halfe lines, coining of ſtrãge and neuer heard of words. Theſe being without number, when I would haue taken a particular account of the *Errata*, the Printer anſwered me, hee would not publiſh his owne diſworkemanſhip, but rather let his owne fault lye vpon the necke of the Author: and being fearefull that others of his quality, had beene of the ſame nature, and condition, and finding you on the contrary, ſo carefull, and induſtrious, ſo ſerious and laborious to doe the Author all the rights of the preſſe, I could not chooſe but gratulate your honeſt indeauours with this ſhort remembrance. Here likewiſe, I muſt neceſſarily inſert a manifeſt iniury done me in that worke, by taking the two Epiſtles of *Paris* to *Helen*, and *Helen* to *Paris*, and printing them in a leſſe volume, vnder the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might ſteale them from him; and hee to doe himſelfe right, hath ſince publiſhed them in his owne name: but as I muſt acknowledge my

Figure 2.7 Prefaces to the Actor, Judicial Reader, and Nicholas Okes in *An Apology for Actors* (1612).

Heywood and Okes working co-operatively to position the defence of Heywood's actors within an "*Apology*" aimed at a market of gentlemen readers.

Close study of the first three dedications makes it readily apparent that Heywood's dedication "To my approued good Friend, / Mr. *Nicholas Okes*" (G4r-v), although placed at the end of the pamphlet, is designed to interact with the prefaces to the actors and reader in signature A. The ornaments, title, and typeface show that Okes's dedication is typographically similar to the actors' preface, placing the printer on the same level as Heywood's other close professional colleagues.[20] In light of the visual balance created between the prefaces to the actors and the "IVDICIALL READER", this information would suggest that the printer, the actor, and the reader represent a prime circle of interest to Heywood. However, I would argue that patterns of typographical symmetry between the prefaces to the actors and to Okes also reveal an additional, more significant relationship. Identical settings for head ornaments and titles link the dedications for the actors and Okes more closely whilst separating them from the third member of this textual hierarchy, the reader. Unlike the actors and readers, who are different but of similar importance, Heywood's actors and printer are presented as entirely alike. And while the actors' and Okes's dedications initially appear to differ in the type used in the body of their dedications, the actors in italic and Okes in roman, even this difference is carefully converted into a relationship. The running titles on the second page of each dedication use the alternate typeface: italic for "*The Author to the Printer*" and roman for "To the Citty-Actors". Heywood himself reinforces the amicable relationship conveyed by this complex use of expressive typography by addressing both actors and printer as "friends". This friendship, I would posit, is the professional, perhaps even congenial, collaboration through which Heywood's words were disseminated, by the actors of the Queen's Men to the stage and by his printer Okes to the page. The overall presentation of these prefaces suggests that Heywood felt a similar sense of camaraderie with his printer as he did with his fellow actors, the respect of one craftsman to another. Heywood's note to Okes is also thematically linked to the actors' preface. Heywood defends both the "*quality*" of the actors who have been harshly judged and the "honeſt indeauours" of Okes who has distinguished himself and his profession from the likes of Jaggard. This alliance is further expressed in Heywood's use of "*vs*" and "*our*" to include himself amongst the actors in their preface and in the text of *Apology* itself: "*I haue ſpared / my ſelfe ſo much time as to touch ſome / particulars concerning* ***vs***,

[20] Bergeron (164) suggests that the dedication to Okes should be paired with the preface to the Judiciall Reader.

*to approue / **our** Antiquity, ancient Dignity, and / the true vſe of **our** quality*" (A3r, 3-7).[21] Heywood's connection with his printer is also visually realised in the limited use of capitalisation in Okes's dedication. The only keywords capitalised in the dedication that are not in italic, except for the start of sentences or the pronoun "I" are the words "Author" and "Printer". A typographical flourish, this capitalisation is not only an extension of Heywood's sentiments but also a product of printing house intervention overseen by Heywood's publisher, Nicholas Okes. In short, Heywood's vision of actor/playwright/printer relations is constructed by the collective agency of writer and stationer.

Okes's co-operative textual engagement in *Apology* stands in sharp contrast to the other printing house experience documented in his dedication to Okes. In the same dedication, Heywood also famously criticises the stationer William Jaggard and his printing of Heywood's long poem, *Troia Britanica*. Heywood's detailed list of Jaggard's "diſworke- /manſhip" including "miſquo- / tations, miſtaking of ſillables, miſ- /placing halfe lines, coining of ſtra[n]ge / and neuer heard of words" (G4r, 11-12, 5-8) reveals how Heywood and Jaggard had decidedly different ideas regarding how his poem should be printed. As the typographical layout of *An Apology for Actors* attests, conflicting ideas of textual presentation was not an issue that Heywood experienced with Okes. As a result, Heywood's description of Okes and his work as "ſo / carefull, and induſtrious, ſo ſerious and laborious to / doe the Author all the rights of the preſſe" (16-18) should also be seen as a valid assessment of Okes's work on *Apology*. As a collection, the dedications of *An Apology for Actors* establish both a hierarchy and a unity of texts that can be described, to use Heywood's own words, as "carefull", "induſtrious", "ſerious" and perhaps even a little "laborious" in their attention to detail. Considered within the context of Heywood's larger publication project, the balance between content and visual presentation seen in *An Apology for Actors* is successful through the coordinated contributions of Okes and Heywood. For this reason, *An Apology for Actors* reflects the dynamic fashioning of textual space that is possible through co-operative collaboration between writer and stationer.

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[21] My emphasis.

2.5c: Ornaments of Collaboration: *The Silver Age* and *The Brazen Age*

The final two quartos examined in this study, *The Silver Age* (STC 13365, 1613) and *The Brazen Age* (STC 13310, 1613) show a culmination of the skills and collaboration developed by Okes and Heywood in *The Golden Age* and *An Apology for Actors*. The second and third parts of Heywood's series of *The Age* plays, the quartos are described in his preface to *The Brazen Age* as "brother(s)" (A2r, 1). As the following research demonstrates, the quartos also share a typographical and publication lineage born from the collective agency of their playwright and stationer.

Although the *Stationers' Register* contains no entries for *The Silver* or *Brazen Age* in 1613, there is evidence that Okes played a significant role in both of these publications. The title page imprint for *The Silver Age* advertises that the quarto was printed by Okes and was sold by the bookseller Benjamin Lightfoot. However, the *Stationers' Register* entry for 2nd August 1630 shows the transfer of *The Silver Age* from Nicholas Okes to his son John, suggesting that Okes, not Lightfoot, held the rights to the play at time of publication (Arber IV, 240).[22] Title page evidence suggests that Okes also played a role in the publication of Heywood's *The Brazen Age*. The edition survives in two variant issues. The first has an imprint stating that Okes printed the play for the publisher Samuel Rand. A second title page (STC 13310.3) contains the variant imprint "Printed by *Nicholas Okes*, dwelling neere *Holborne- / Bridge* at the ſigne of the *Hand*". In addition to including Okes's name and the location of his shop, this variant edition bears further significance because it contains no mention of Samuel Rand. The existence of copies in only Okes's name suggests ownership in the publication that is more typical of a publisher than a printer. As a result, it is possible that Okes shared the rights to publication of *The Brazen Age* with Rand. If they did, then Okes, who in the first five years of his career as a master printer never published a commercial play quarto, suddenly published two and both by Thomas Heywood. With his role in the publications of *The Silver* and *Brazen Age,* Okes initiates an intriguing exception to his printing house practice in which Heywood becomes the only playwright whose play quartos regularly show that they were both printed and published by Okes. While Okes's publication of Heywood's *Age* plays is exceptional in terms of his printing practice, his approach to Heywood's *The Silver* and *Brazen Ages* is consistent with the level of textual intervention demonstrated by Okes in his other Heywood collaborations and throughout this chapter.

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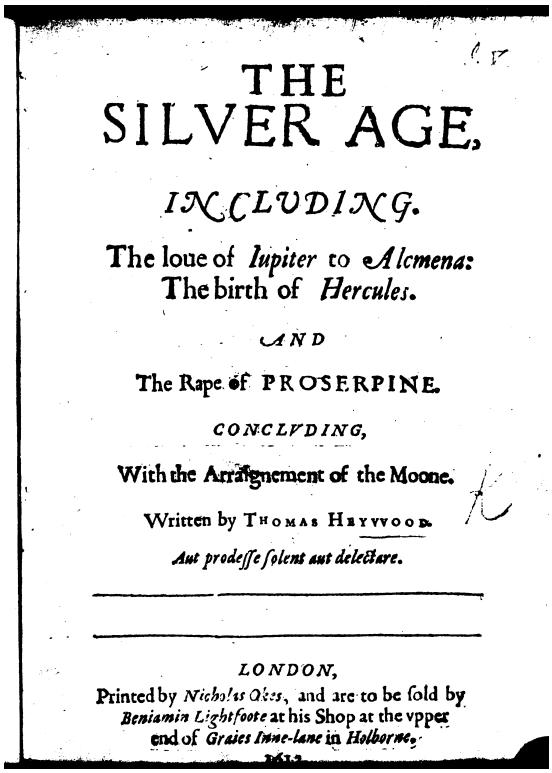
[22] The same entry also shows Okes transferring *The Golden Age and The Iron Age* to John Okes.

Typographical similarities between the two quartos suggest that Okes's house considered the two plays related printing jobs. The two title pages are very similar in layout, breaking up the page into a top header with the title, a larger central panel with a synopsis, and then an imprint separated by solid rules in the lower panel. (Figure 2.8 and 2.9) Closer examination of the feet of the "A" and the descending foot on the "E" in "AGE" reveals that the type used for *The Silver Age* was likely kept in the forme to be reused when setting *The Brazen Age.* The next two formes for signatures A2v and B1r of both *The Silver* and *Brazen Age* show more profound evidence of standing type. The first formes, containing the *dramatis personae,* are headed with identical rows of printer's flowers and comparable white space between the header, the identical titles "Drammatis Perſonæ", and the centred name of the first character "HOMER". The extensive lists of characters for the two plays are also divided down the middle by similar parallel lines of solid rules, suggesting that only the names of characters were removed and replaced to print the second quarto. The second 'sheets' of each play (B1r in each quarto) share identical headers and the first word of each play is illuminated by what appears to be the same factotum with a different letter. Thus, it is apparent that Okes kept the type for the preliminaries from *The Silver Age* in locked-up formes with the intention of reusing them to print *The Brazen Age.* Recycling formes for two similar publications may have served a practical purpose of saving time and labour. Removing and replacing individual words would take Okes less time than resetting an entire page. Moreover, Okes's decision also creates visual continuity that unifies the two quartos as printed texts in a series. Such presentation could contribute to Heywood's own marketing of the successive quartos in his prefaces as "brothers". In this way, the typography of these two quartos exceeds basic function to an expressive presentation and a support of Heywood's publication project as seen in other Okes texts.



THE
SILVER AGE,

INCLUDING.

The loue of *Iupiter* to *Alcmena:*
The birth of *Hercules.*

AND

The Rape of PROSERPINE.

CONCLVDING,

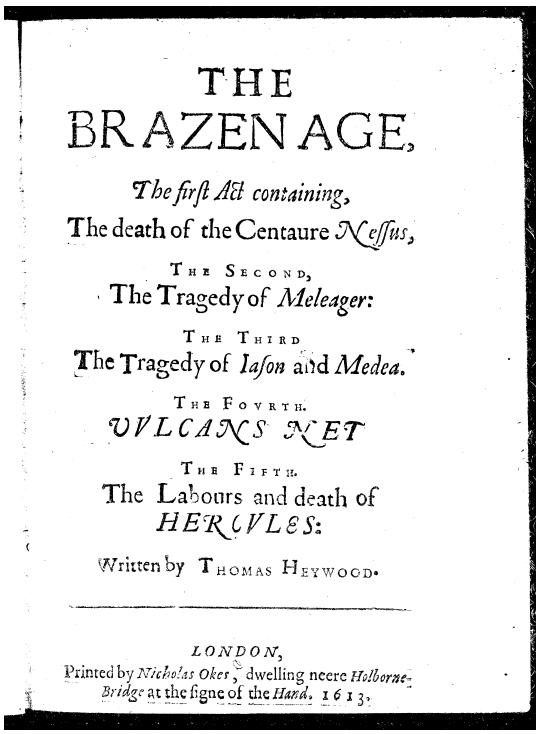
With the Arraignement of the Moone.

Written by THOMAS HEYWOOD.

Aut prodeſſe ſolent aut delectare.

LONDON,
Printed by *Nicholas Okes*, and are to be ſold by *Beniamin Lightfoote* at his Shop at the vpper end of *Graies Inne-lane* in *Holborne.*
1613.

Figure 2.8 Title page of *The Silver Age* (1613).



THE
BRAZEN AGE,

The firſt Act containing,
The death of the Centaure *Neſſus,*

THE SECOND,
The Tragedy of *Meleager:*

THE THIRD
The Tragedy of *Iaſon* and *Medea.*

THE FOVRTH.
VVLCANS NET

THE FIFTH.
The Labours and death of
HERCVLES:

Written by THOMAS HEYWOOD.

LONDON,
Printed by *Nicholas Okes*, dwelling neere *Holborne-Bridge* at the ſigne of the *Hand.* 1613.

Figure 2.9 Title page of The Brazen Age (1613).

There is also evidence of Heywood's active participation in the publication of these quartos. One of the most easily recognisable ornaments of writer agency, the title page epigram was a feature of several of Heywood's non-dramatic works including *An Apology for Actors.* The appearance of Heywood's motto *Aut prodeſſe ſolent aut delectare*[23] on the title page of *The Silver Age* is the first time that this particular ornament appeared on a Heywood play quarto. A second significant change in the title page content of *The Silver Age* and *The Brazen Age* also suggests writerly intervention in the publications. Unlike the title page of *The Golden Age* which markets the quarto, "As it hath beene ſundry times acted at the Red / Bull, by the Queenes Maieſties Seruants", the title pages of *The Silver Age* and *The Brazen Age* make no mention of their performance history. Instead, the focus is on plot, presenting highlights such as "The Rape of PROSERPINE" and "The Labours and death of *HERCVLES*". A similar change from performance to narrative detail is found in two Jonson plays printed just prior to Heywood's *Silver* and *Brazen Age*: *Catiline His Conspiracy* (STC 14759,1611) and *The Alchemist* (STC 14755, 1612). Zachary Lesser sees these title pages as a "Jonsonian attempt to erase the theatrical origins of the play and create a wholly literary text" (*Renaissance* 63). In resembling the non-dramatic content and presentation of these Jonson play quartos as well as the title page layout for Heywood's recent publication of *An Apology for Actors*, the title pages of *The Silver Age* and *The Brazen Age* can be seen to reflect Heywood's interest in ornaments associated with more literary texts. While the literary title page would appeal to Heywood's sense of textual propriety, given Okes's record of incorporating new approaches into his printing practice, it cannot be ruled out that Okes may have seen the style himself and, knowing his client's preferences, offered the change to Heywood. Regardless, the presentation of *The Silver Age* and *The Brazen Age* occurs in complex textual spaces in which the talents and interests of both agents are clearly present and integrated to such an extent that the overall result can only be described as collaborative.

Part two of this chapter has demonstrated that Nicholas Okes and Thomas Heywood actively engaged in the development and transmission of four publications: *The Golden Age, An Apology for Actors, The Silver Age,* and *The Brazen Age.* Paratextual evidence from all four publications consistently shows a careful adaptation of Okes's printer skills to the ambitions of his writer and the content of his works. At the same time, Heywood's expression of his writerly agency fosters further expansion of Okes's

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[23] "desire at once to amuse and benefit".

printing practice through typographical intervention and a move into publication of commercial plays in quarto. Okes's collaboration with Heywood can, therefore, be seen as a turning point in his approach to playwrights and dramatic publication that certainly set the stage for the more intricate examples of expressive typography and co-operative publication witnessed in his later printings of Ford, Middleton and in Shakespeare's *Othello*. The tone of the Okes/Heywood relationship in the early years of this collaboration might be summarised in a comment Heywood makes in his preface to *Greene's Tu Quoque, or, the Cittie Galant* printed by Nicholas Okes for John Trundle in 1614. In his dedication "To the Reader", Heywood explains that his regard for the writer was such that he "*could not chuſe being / in the way iuſt when this Play was to be pub- /liſhed in Priut, but to prefixe ſome token / of my affection to either in the frontiſpire of the Booke*" (A2r, 3-6). As a playwright believed indifferent to publication at this stage in his career, Heywood's admission that he was in the printing house is remarkable testimony to the contrary. Yet, his description of himself as "*in the way*" in Okes's house is even more intriguing. That as a writer Heywood did not feel the need to justify his presence in the printing house suggests that he was not concerned that people associated him with printers and publication. Heywood's comment offers the tempting scenario that people knew Heywood could often be found at Okes's printing house. The lack of any publication-related reason for Heywood being at the press at the time also suggests that Heywood was not there out of necessity, but by choice, and therefore contests, once again, the idea that Heywood abhorred printers and printing. In fact, Heywood's phrasing of his presence as "*in the way*" actually compliments the printer's work by acknowledging his disruption of another's execution of their craft. This sentiment strongly resonates with Heywood's earlier expressions of camaraderie and praise of his "approued good Friend, / Mr. *Nicholas Okes*" in *An Apology for Actors.* Thus, Okes and Heywood's collaboration not only demonstrates the collective agency of writers and stationers in a group of early modern playbooks but it also shows amicable relations between members of the supposedly rival institutions of playhouse and printing house.

Part 3:

Nicholas Okes & William Shakespeare

2.6 Lost In *Lear:* Redefining the Textual Space of Q1 (1608)

The first two parts of this chapter have shown Nicolas Okes at various stages in his career engaged in textual collaboration with stationers and playwrights. In these examples Okes regularly applied his printing house expertise to the creative and technical interests of stationers and writers while actively engaged in the transmission of their publications. However, Okes's first printing of a commercial play, Q1 *King Lear,* was a very different experience. For modern scholars, Okes's association with Q1 *King Lear* was established in Peter Blayney's comprehensive study: *The Texts of King Lear and Their Origins.* In a bibliographical study of unprecedented detail, Blayney painstakingly reconstructed Okes's printing of the quarto in order to understand the relationship between Q1 and the version of *King Lear* preserved in F1. In the process, Blayney determined that Okes began setting the pages of *Lear* seriatim (in chronological order) rather than by formes, the method used more regularly because more economical, both in terms of time and amount of type required while the text was being set. Blayney concluded that Okes's irregular approach resulted in "unprecedented problems of type supply" as well as instances of "miscasting copy", where the amount of text that would fit on each page is misjudged (*Texts* 184).[24] These typographical issues translated into mislineations and problematic variant spellings which, as Blayney observed, contributed significantly to the poor quality of Okes's quarto (*Texts* 184-5). While this dissertation agrees with Blayney's conclusion that Okes's printing practices affected the general appearance of the quarto we read today, it modifies it by showing that Okes was only partly responsible for the overall quality of Q1. In this final section, the textual space of Q1 *King Lear* will be reconsidered as the product of collective agency. Okes's contributions will be examined alongside the textual authority of the two other agents involved in Q1's production: the quarto's publisher, Nathaniel Butter and its playwright, William Shakespeare. Awareness of Butter's and Shakespeare's impact on Q1, particularly in terms of the manuscript used as its copytext, draws attention to the impact of non-printer agents on the printing process. Understanding how Okes's collaborators influenced his task provides a framework within which Okes's engagement

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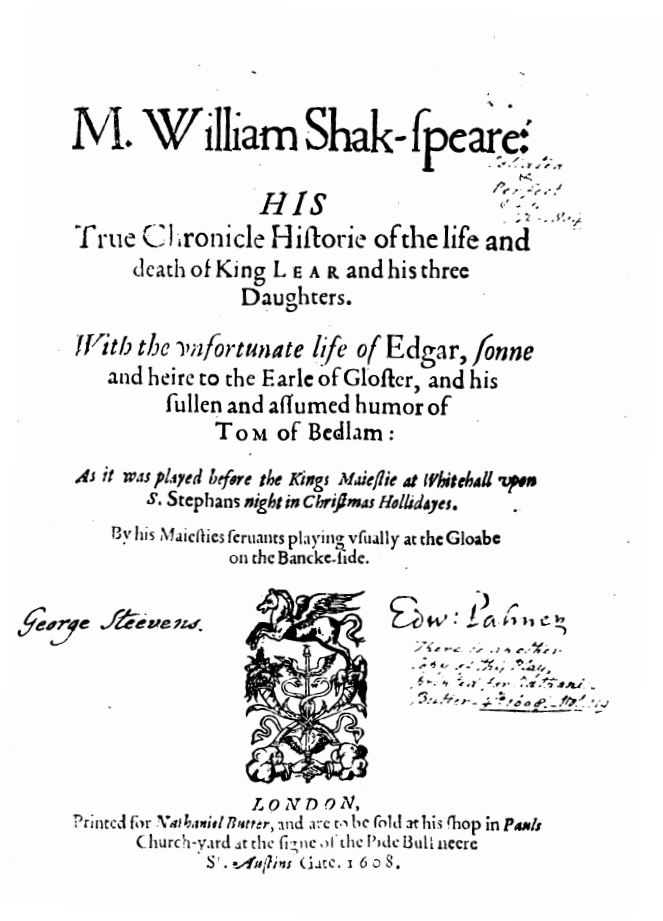
[24] Blayney identifies type shortages of letter forms "A", "V", "W", "E", *"E",* and "I" (*Texts* 129-134, 145-147) See also Appendix IVC, "Quantities of Standing Type" (*Texts* 528-537).

with Q1 can best be assessed. Textual and literary analysis of typographical details and textual variations between Q1 and F1 creates an alternative reading of Okes's textual intervention and its impact on Q1. In addition to offering readings of the quarto, this study also considers Q1 in the context of Okes's larger printing house practices by highlighting connections between Okes's work on *King Lear* and his textual interventions in other texts already discussed in this chapter. The section concludes with a reflection on what a comparison of collective agency in Q1 *King Lear* and Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* can tell us about printing house collaboration and the consequences of categorising quartos as "good" or "bad". Thus, this study of textual collaboration in the work of Nicholas Okes demonstrates the centrality of collective agency to understanding the transmission of early modern drama into print.

2.7 "His" Chronicle History: Nathaniel Butter and the Q1 Copytext

While Okes's role as printer of Q1 is familiar to modern Shakespeare scholars, an early modern reader would probably not have associated Okes with the play at all. The reader would have encountered a densely set title page with "M. William Shak-speare" prominently displayed across the top, some plot highlights including the death of Lear and his daughters and "the vnfortunate life of Edgar", and information that the play was performed by the King's Men at Whitehall on St. Stephen's night. (Figure 2.10) If the reader was interested in purchasing a copy, he or she would know from the imprint that the play was being sold by the publisher/bookseller Nathaniel Butter at his shop in St. Paul's Churchyard. What the reader would not see is any mention of Nicholas Okes. This chapter has shown Okes putting his name on the title pages of elaborate publications like *Vertumnus* and on many of the commercial play quartos he printed for other stationers. In exceptional circumstances, such as Heywood's *The Golden Age,* Okes managed to advertise his contribution despite being left out of the imprint by using a printer's device that prominently displayed his initials beside two large oak trees. In short, if Okes wanted to be associated with a publication, he seemed to find a way. Despite his absence from Q1's title page, Okes is regularly identified in modern scholarship as the primary agent of Q1's publication. Subsequently, the printer is held responsible for all sorts of problematic issues associated with the quarto. For example, in his Arden three edition of the play, R. A. Foakes finds it curious that the King's Men would have "handed over a manuscript to an unfamiliar and inexperienced printer" like Okes (*King Lear* 122). In truth, it is unlikely they did. In November 1607 The *Stationers'*

Register records Nathaniel Butter and another stationer, John Busby, securing their rights to publish "M[r] William Shakespeare his historye of Kynge Lear" (Arber III, 366). The only stationer of the pair named on the title page, Butter was most likely the lead agent in Q1's publication. Since publishers, not printers, typically secured manuscripts, it stands to reason that Butter had obtained the manuscript from the King's Men or from John Busby, who had secured the rights to a handful of other plays by Shakespeare and his contemporaries but then transferred them to other stationers.[25]



M. William Shak-ſpeare:

HIS

True Chronicle Hiſtorie of the life and death of King LEAR and his three Daughters.

With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, *ſonne* and heire to the Earle of Gloſter, and his ſullen and aſſumed humor of TOM of Bedlam:

As it was played before the Kings Maieſtie at Whitehall vpon S. Stephans *night in Chriſtmas Hollidayes.*

By his Maieſties ſeruants playing vſually at the Gloabe on the Bancke-ſide.

George Steevens. Edw: Pahner

LONDON,

Printed for *Nathaniel Butter*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop in *Pauls* Church-yard at the ſigne of the Pide Bull neere S^t. *Auſtins* Gate. 1608.

Figure 2.10 Title page of *King Lear* (1608).

[25] Butter's only previous publication of a King's Men play, *The London Prodigal* (STC 22333, 1605) wrongly attributes the play to Shakespeare on its title page. Shakespeare was still working for the King's Men at this time so it is unlikely this would have gone unnoticed by him or other members of his company. For this reason, it is difficult to see why the King's Men would give Butter the manuscript for *Lear,* leaving open to speculation the possibility that Butter obtained the manuscript from another source most likely Busby who briefly held the rights to and published editions of *Henry V* (STC 22289, 1600), Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece* (STC 13360, 1608 and STC 13361, 1609) which he shared with Butter, and Thomas Kyd's closet drama *Cornelia* (STC 11622, 1594).

Foakes also suggests that, finding the manuscript difficult, Okes should have hired a scribe to produce a clearer copytext but did not because "it may have cost more money than Okes was willing to lay out to have such a manuscript copied in longhand" (*King Lear* 122). Modern scholars have spent considerable time ascertaining the origins and quality of the copy Okes used to print Q1. Early twentieth century bibliographers believed it was a product of memorial reconstruction or "reported text" recreated by actors (qut. in Blayney 4-5; Greg 257). However, the generally accepted theory now is Steven Urkowitz's: that the copy contained the untidy language of *currente calamo* and the idosyncracies of writer composition, such as the irregular capitalisation of the first letters of verse lines that are indicative of an early Shakespeare holograph (*Shakespeare's Revision* 139-140). Whether thought to be a memorial reconstruction or Shakespeare's own "foul papers", the quality of the manuscript behind Q1 has always been considered problematic. W.W. Greg suggested that "the printer had before him [a]copy that was entirely undivided metrically and altogether without punctuation" ("Foundations of Bibliography" 253).[26] While Peter Blayney found "no such evidence" to support Greg's conclusions, he did observe how "Q's copy was mislined at certain points in particular ways", and that "many passages were underpunctuated [sic], or punctuated in misleading ways"(*Texts* 7, 8). Ultimately, Blayney conceded as "perfectly evident that the manuscript itself was a difficult one", and that its quality may have contributed to Okes's decision to set the text seriatim, accounting, at least in part, for the typographical problems which arose from his methods (*Texts* 184). If the manuscript was this difficult, then Okes probably could have benefited from setting the play from a transcript. However, Blayney reminds us that "the person who paid for a book to be manufactured" was the publisher (*Playbooks* 391). Butter, as the party financially invested in the manuscript who paid extra to secure his rights in the *Stationers' Register* and had the largest stake in the project, would benefit most from the success of the publication. On the other hand, as printer, Okes was "responsible only for the quality of the printing" (Blayney "Publication" 391). In other words, his concern was the mechanical process of printing pages not the quality of the manuscript he was given. This point would seem particularly relevant in a case like Q1 *Lear,* where Okes was printing from someone else's manuscript copy.

Okes's conspicuous absence from the title page of *King Lear,* in lieu of his frequent appearances in imprints and in light of Butter's documented role as publisher

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[26] cf. (Blayney, *Texts* 4-5).

in the *Stationers' Register* and on the title page of *Lear,* suggests that Okes played a supportive rather than directing role in the publication of Q1. As a result, Okes's printing should be considered, at least in part, as influenced by Butter, who set many of the parameters of the publication, including the quality of manuscript Okes used as copytext. Moreover, the problematic nature of the manuscript behind Q1 also suggests that the quality of any potential edition was compromised before Okes ever set a piece of type. As such, shortcomings in Q1 related to the manuscript are as much the product of Butter's publisher agency as Okes's skills as a printer. In terms of Okes's culpability for agreeing to print from Butter's complicated manuscript, given Okes's record of engagement with unconventional publications, I would argue that this is not necessarily evidence of the printer's inexperience. Okes's decision to take on a complicated manuscript like *Lear* for Butter anticipates Okes's printing of *Philaster* or *A Game at Chess,* where Okes accepted a more complex job and was accordingly required to adjust his printing practice to the conditions of the project. As a result, Okes's transmission of *King Lear* from manuscript to print should not be seen as a single agent production but part of the collective printing house agency at work in the quarto.

2.8 Nicholas Okes and the First Quarto

As one of the collaborative agents at work in Q1, Okes's own skills and expertise undoubtedly shaped the presentation of Q1 *King Lear*. While Peter Blayney's study of Q1 is a definitive documentation of the mechanical process of printing the quarto, Blayney does not consider Okes's agency in terms of the stationer's engagement with Shakespeare's play as a creative endeavour. In the analysis that follows, Q1 will be examined as a series of interactions between writer and stationer agency. Using Q1 variants as points of textual engagement, this research shows Okes using his stationer expertise to translate Shakespeare's play from manuscript into print. Drawing from the profile of Okes's textual intervention developed in this chapter, this study highlights ways in which Okes co-operatively contributes to the development of Q1 as a reading text, while also situating Q1 within Okes's approach to textual collaboration more generally. This examination of Okes's role in the collective efforts that produced Q1 also serves as a foundation for the discussion of Shakespeare as textual collaborator which concludes this chapter.

In Chapters Three and Four, the textual intervention of printing house agents will be observed through patterns of textual variation in reprint editions. Printing from a

copytext manuscript that is no longer available, Okes's fingerprint in the variants of Q1 *Lear* is more difficult, but not impossible, to track. Keeping in mind characteristics of Okes's textual intervention observed in his collaborations with other stationers and writers, it is possible to glimpse Okes's emerging textual persona in Q1. For example, Okes's preservation of expressive typography in Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* and the first quarto of Shakespeare's *Othello* revealed a sensitivity to performative elements of dramatic manuscripts and an awareness of their function in the printed playtext. Rather surprisingly, despite the copytext's presumed problems with punctuation, Q1 *Lear* contains nine separate instances where, as in *'Tis Pity* and *Othello,* dashes are used at moments when one character is interrupted by another.[27] As in these other Okes publications, it is most likely that these marks originated in the playwright's manuscript and were then translated into dashes during printing. Thus, instances of expressive typography in Q1 *Lear* can be seen as Okes preserving a playwright's articulation of the play through his printing practice. In the particular case of *Lear,* the presence of these typographical flourishes draws attention to a discerning printing house agent able to distinguish between stray pen marks on an already messy manuscript and a writer's subtle notation of performance detail. Such co-operative typography, particularly in a quarto set from a difficult manuscript copy, suggests active engagement with the *Lear* text in Okes's house and textual collaboration commensurate with examples seen in other Okes quartos.

In other instances, Okes faced elements of the manuscript that were less clear in their intention. Variant readings between Q1 and F1 are a source of endless debate for scholars and editors of *King Lear* and, in the case of *The Oxford Shakespeare,* resulted in the division of quarto and folio editions into two separate plays. With current trends in editorial theory focusing on performance, most modern editions favour F1 readings as examples of what was probably performed by Shakespeare's company. However, as a direct descendant of Shakespeare's holograph, Q1 offers an opportunity to observe the textual transmission of Shakespeare's artistic concept into print. For instance, the Q1 variant "snulbug" in Edgar's line at 3.4.136, "Beware my follower, peace ſnulbug, peace thou fiend" (G2v, 27), is an instance where Q1 offers a more unusual reading than F1.[28] The Folio's "Smulkin" (TLN 1919) is typically preferred by editors because the word is also used by Samuel Harsnett in his *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (STC

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[27] D3v, 23; F1r, 30; G2v, 30; H1r, 30; H1v, 8 and 28; H2v, 1; H4v, 26; I2r, 11.

[28] Act/scene/line numbers for *King Lear* follow Foakes's Arden 3 edition. This means that Act 2 has only two scenes rather than the four seen in other editions.

12880, 1603), a text generally acknowledged as a source for Edgar's speech (Weis *Parallel* 53). In its own right, Q1's "snulbug" is not completely out of context as it evokes the same rustic forest tone as the mice, rats, tadpoles and wall-newts Shakespeare also incorporates into this speech. When faced with an unclear reading in the copytext, Q1 produced a reading that captured the sentiment of the language in the scene, suggesting a more attentive level of reading than the cursory memorisation association with typesetting. The Q1 reading is so convincing that René Weis observed "if not for Harnsett, 'Snulbug' would be an inspired coinage" (*Parallel* 53). Q1's artful interpretation might be considered surprisingly poetic or creative to come from the mind of a printer. However, with his training amongst the prestigious repertoire of Richard Field's house, Okes was not a mere "mechanical" even at this early stage in his career. My research also suggests that Okes was not alone. For example, in Chapter One, Henry Chettle's exposure to literature while an apprentice was seen to be expressed in his allusions and imitation of episodes and characters from Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* in his *England's Morning Garment.* With his training exposing him to texts like Thomas Campion's *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (STC 4543, 1602) and the ethereal and pastoral strains of Philip Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (STC 22541, 1598), it is not unreasonable to suggest that Okes would also develop an ear for poetic language and approved or devised "snulbug" as a suitably poetic sounding reading. Furthermore, there is evidence in Okes's other Shakespeare printing, Q1 *Othello,* of a preference for more artistic or unusual words such as Q1's reading of Iago's line: "The food that to / him now, is as luſcious as Locuſts, ſhall be to him ſhortly as *acerbe* / as the Colloquintida" (1.3.348-50; D2r, 6-8).[29] Q1's offering of "acerbe" when compared to F1's "bitter" is similar to René Weis's assessment of "snulbug" as "a more exciting and suggestive reading" whose "resonances are both visual and auditory" (*Parallel* 53). Chapter Three will reveal a tradition of textual correctors who, when confronted with an unclear reading, often prefer variants that, as in the cases of "snulbug" and "acerb", seem the most poetic or obscure suggesting that Okes also participated in this tradition.

By revealing moments of co-operative textual intervention in the midst of the multiple difficulties Okes dealt with during the printing of Q1, Okes's engagement with *King Lear* is a precursor to the kind of textual intervention demonstrated in Okes's collaborations with writers and stationers throughout his career. At the same time, this

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[29] My emphasis.

evidence reveals co-operative textual intervention which, by engaging with the subtleties of language and dramatic performance, conscientiously seeks to preserve the sentiments of Shakespeare's play as presented in the manuscript. Moreover, considering Okes's work as part of the collective contributions to the development of Q1 repositions Okes's printing of *King Lear* as a collaboration with Shakespeare's text that is generally overlooked in discussions of Okes's transmission of Q1. For this reason, variant readings in Q1 should be tempered with consideration of the copy from which Okes was working and the co-operative nature of the endeavour that resulted in the transmission of Shakespeare's manuscript into a reading text.

2.9 Shakespeare and the printing of Q1 *Lear*

The technical complications and editorial-style inferences that occurred throughout the setting of Q1 *Lear* suggest that Okes could have benefited from the kind of stationer/playwright collaboration seen between Henry Chettle and John Danter and in Okes's own partnership with Thomas Heywood. However, textual analysis of Q1 and the absence of any paratextual evidence linking Shakespeare to the quarto's production suggest that Shakespeare did not participate in the publication of Q1 *Lear*. The major argument to the contrary is found in Lukas Erne's *Shakespeare as a Literary Dramatist.* In order to argue that Shakespeare was in fact interested in dramatic publication, Erne reads the "good" quality of quartos published by, or with support of, the King's Men as evidence that "Shakespeare was not indifferent to the publication of his plays" and as a literary dramatist wrote "in the expectation of a readership" (*Literary Dramatist* 106, 191). Erne includes Q1 *King Lear* amongst these authorised texts. However with his description of Q1 as the "most problematic of the 'good' quartos", Erne concedes that Q1 "poses a problem...if we wanted to assume that Shakespeare cared about its publication" (*Literary Dramatist* 106, 107). In order to coerce Q1 *Lear* into his playwright-based model of textual transmission, Erne posits that the quality of the *Lear* manuscript is below that of the other "good" quartos because it was a private transcript commissioned by someone who saw the court performance on St. Stephen's night (*Literary Dramatist* 107 nt). However, it is difficult to accept that a transcript specifically created to be a reading text would be a worse, not better, copy than the average manuscript surrendered by a playing company to be used as a copytext. If the Q1 manuscript was as problematic as is generally accepted by Blayney and others, then this "commissioned" transcript, whose quality Erne essentially equates to that of a playwright's early draft, was poor work

indeed. Intent on linking the overall quality of Shakespeare's manuscript to an interest in publication, Erne's model merges writing and publishing into a single agency. As a result, he is unable to explain how a playwright interested in getting his play into print would publish anything other than a "blot-less" manuscript. I agree that as part of a theatrical industry with growing connections to publication Shakespeare would hardly be oblivious to the fact that his plays were being read. Although Erne does not mention them in his discussion, Q1 *Lear* does contain qualities that are beneficial to readers. As evidence of Shakespeare's literary interests, Erne highlights a series of descriptive stage directions in the First Folio edition of *Anthony and Cleopatra* noting that they "seem directed at readers rather than at the bookkeeper" (*Literary Dramatist* 113). As seen in Chapter One's discussion of Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*, stage directions were recognised by writers and stationers as an important point of reader engagement with printed playtexts. In spite of the many problems posited in the *Lear* manuscript, one element that appears to be very effective is its stage directions. Q1 contains a number of directions that offer descriptions of performance such as: "*Enter Baſt. and Curan meeting*" (D3v, 1), "*Enter Edmund with his rapier drawne...*" (E1r, 36), a gentleman entering "*with a bloudie knife*" (L3r, 8), or Lear enters "*mad*" (I3v, 6) or exits "*running*" (I4v, 16). In a reading text these directions take on additional significance by informing a reader of details that will enhance their mental visualisation of the action. Even more significant are the directions that go beyond perfunctory entrances and exits to document pivotal moments of action not described in dialogue as when Gloucester "*fals*" (I3r, 1) and Goneril "*takes a ſword and runs at him behind*" (H2r, 1). Perhaps because of Q1's origins in Shakespeare's creative process, the quarto is very good at offering descriptive stage directions at points where a reader, without the benefit of visual performance, would miss vital stage action. For example, without such descriptive enhancement, one of the play's most memorable images "*Enter Lear with Cordelia in his armes*" (L3v, 7) would be lost to readers if it had been presented merely as "Enter Lear". Thus, while Erne's assertion that the Q1 copytext reflects Shakespeare fashioning his text for readers is problematic given the presumed quality of the manuscript, it is possible that Shakespeare, knowing his plays would probably be printed and read at some point, wrote it not *to* readers but *with* readers in mind. Shakespeare, I would argue, was aware of print but was not a printing house dramatist.

Moreover, while Shakespeare perhaps wrote with readers in mind, or even the mind *of* a reader, I would not go as far as Erne and say that Shakespeare's work on the

manuscript alone makes Q1 *Lear* a reading or "literary" text. Textual transmission, as we have seen, is the product of collective contributions of writing, printing, and publishing agents. In addition, studies of Chettle and Danter, and Okes and Heywood, show that printed texts benefit in numerous ways from writer and stationer actively working in co-operation during the printing process. In the case of *King Lear*, René Weis marks it as advantageous to F1's readers that the playhouse agent who transcribed Shakespeare's manuscript into the promptbook which became the copytext, "could probably fall back on Shakespeare himself to elucidate indecipherable phrases" (*Parallel* 45-6). Likewise, Heminge's and Condell's wish in their Folio dedication "*To the great Variety of Readers*" that Shakespeare had "liu'd to haue ſet forth, and ouerſeen his owne / writings" denotes a similar struggle of "care, and paine" in publishing Shakespeare's plays without the help of the playwright (A3r, 20-1, 23). For this reason, it is hard to ignore the impact of Shakespeare's absence from the printing house on the much criticised quality of Q1 *Lear.* Subsequently it becomes more important to understand the character of contributions of other agents in the textual space of Q1 and acknowledging them as playing a necessarily more active role in the adaptation of the manuscript into print.

With no playwright to oversee its publication, the textual space of Q1 *Lear*, like Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*, is heavily influenced by the collective contributions of its printing house agents. As publisher and printer for Q1 *Romeo*, Danter's control over the copytext and the printing process allowed Chettle's further fashioning of the manuscript for publication through the addition of his stage directions. Having Chettle in his printing house allowed Danter to produce an additional level of writerly agency specifically geared towards reading and publication. The quarto that resulted, with its reader-friendly directions, reflects the unique collective agency at work in Danter's house. The less pronounced reader focus of Okes's textual intervention in Q1 *Lear* likewise reflects the far more limited textual agency in this project. Having neither Shakespeare nor a Henry Chettle on hand to provide the particular agency of a printing house dramatist, Okes's ability to fashion *Lear* into a reading text is reflected in more subtle textual engagements. As a result, Q1 *Lear,* though printed over ten years after Q1 *Romeo*, offers a less refined reading experience than a much earlier printed playtext.

Awareness of the collective agencies at work in Q1 *Lear* and Q1 *Romeo* reveals two very different stories of quartos traditionally considered similarly problematic on account of the printing house practices which produced them. As the research in

Chapters One and Two demonstrates, a "printing process" is actually the combination of both playwright and stationer agencies, and as these vary, so do the quartos that result. Particularly in the case of Shakespeare's quartos, which are consistently left without a playwright in the printing house, the differences in textual narrative between Q1 *Romeo* and Q1 *Lear* demonstrate how, as with all other agents, playwright agency is not a fixed brand of textual intervention but is articulated differently within the varying conditions of collaboration and interactions with other agents. As a result, the practice of categorising Shakespeare's quartos as either "good" or "bad" based on a fixed understanding of the playwright's agency in relation to the process of dramatic publication overlooks the several different ways in which printing house agents engaged with these texts. Shakespeare being no printing house dramatist, the best approach to understanding the textual make-up of Shakespeare's lost manuscripts and of his printed playbooks must focus more consistently on those agents who negotiated the transmission of his works into print.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has examined Nicholas Okes's textual engagement with stationers and playwrights across nearly three decades in order to illustrate the potential of playwright / stationer collaborations. In printing plays for his fellow stationers, Okes demonstrated a willingness to adapt and to accommodate his printing practice to seemingly continuous innovation and technical change. In the process his interactions revealed that, much like the textual spaces they help produce, successful early modern printers needed to be adaptable and compatible. Predominantly dealing with commercial drama as a printer, Okes still found productive ways to use his printing house expertise to support the publishing ambitions of playwrights and their work. His numerous contributions to Middleton's publication of *A Game at Chess* and to Heywood's dramatic and non-dramatic works in print, for example, demonstrated his ability to coordinate his own practices to the multiple concerns and demands of a range of different playwrights who approached him under very different circumstances. More specifically, Okes's extended collaboration with Thomas Heywood revealed an exceptional interest in supporting his playwright's literary ambitions, which in turn, impacted the repertoire of his own professional skills. Knowledge of Okes as a vibrant contributor to dramatic publication positions Q1 *King Lear* as another textual space in which Okes again worked professionally and creatively alongside other agents. Bearing

early indicators of the co-operative printing house intervention characteristic of Okes's later work, Okes's textual interventions in Q1 are even more remarkable for their existence in the midst of his struggles with the manuscript. As an early example of Okes's active approach to manuscript intervention, Q1 shows that knowledge of a stationer's larger approach to printing both clarifies the textual narrative of a text like Q1 *Lear* and, as in Q1 *Romeo,* helps to support readings in the quarto as conscientious contemporary responses to Shakespeare's text. Overall, Okes's textual interactions profile a stationer who regularly engaged at a significant level with plays and playwrights from the commercial theatre. In this way, Nicholas Okes played a significant role in the network of writer and stationer agents that collectively shaped the development of commercial drama in the early half of the seventeenth century. Thus, this chapter confirms that awareness of the dynamics of textual collaboration broadens our knowledge of the strategies used by playwrights and stationers in the transmission of early modern drama into print.

Chapter 3

Publisher Collaboration 1: Richard Hawkins and Q2 *Othello* (1630)

Chapters One and Two considered the compatibility of playwright and printing house agencies and their collective contributions to the publication of dramatic quartos in early modern London. In both instances, this research followed the printing house intervention of printers. The final two chapters of this dissertation will focus on the contributions of publishers. Chapter Three considers the annotating and editorial agency of the publisher/bookseller Richard Hawkins, including his work on the conflated 1630 edition of *Othello*. The profile of Hawkins's textual intervention developed in this chapter will then be considered in Chapter Four as part of the study of a syndicate of publishers and their fashioning of Caroline Shakespeare in the Inns of Court from 1629 to1632. Like the first half of this dissertation, these chapters demonstrate how knowledge of collective agency contributes to our understanding of how Shakespeare was fashioned in print by the members of the London book trade.

Part 1: Richard Hawkins and Caroline Publication

3.1 Introduction

Two studies of Shakespeare publication in the 1620s and 1630s connect Caroline readers with what may best be described as a nostalgic interest in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. In their 2006 essay, "Canons and Classics: Publishing Drama in Caroline England", Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser observe a shift, or "Caroline Paradox", in the market for commercial plays in print during this time. They identify two clearly discernible trends in dramatic publication: one comprised of new Caroline plays and the other consisting of reprints of Elizabethan and Jacobean "classics" ("Canons and Classics" 18). The market for new plays was driven by customer desire for novelty with stationers choosing to publish the latest offerings from the playhouses for their readership. Stationers participating in the market for what Farmer and Lesser describe as "second-plus editions" "depended upon customers' attachment to particular

'classics', most of them dating from around the turn of the century" ("Playbooks Revisited" 28). Evidence of this market could be found in the consecutive editions of classic plays from the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatres, such as *Mucedorus and Amadine, The Maid's Tragedy,* and *How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from Bad,* which filled Caroline stationers' bookstalls (Farmer "Canons and Classics" 31). The number of reprints of Shakespeare's plays produced at this time, including of *Richard III, Richard II, Pericles*, *Hamlet,* and *Romeo and Juliet,* suggests that Shakespeare was also a substantial part of this market (Farmer "Canons and Classics" 31).[1] A similar understanding of Caroline readers as consumers of nostalgia is found in Thomas Berger's study of Shakespearean title pages, "Looking for Shakespeare in Caroline England" (1996). Berger notes that, unlike other reprints in the period, title pages of Shakespeare plays are particularly consistent in that "their appearance...changes little from the last decade of the sixteenth century to the third decade of the seventeenth" ("Caroline" 337). Berger sees in this consistent presentation the desire of Caroline readers to recapture the "stability of an Elizabethan Shakespeare" through "pure and simple" texts ("Caroline" 337). To this end, Berger concludes that to Caroline stationers and their readers, Shakespeare in the 1630s was "a 'dead' author, an object, part of an ideology" ("Caroline" 337).

Berger, Farmer and Lesser see the Caroline market for nostalgia expressed through an interest in static reprints that preserve a relic-like distance between the Elizabethan/Jacobean theatre and Caroline readers. The 1630 edition of Shakespeare's *Othello* (STC 22306; henceforth Q2), a reprint of Shakespeare's Jacobean tragedy presented with a simple unillustrated title page, appears to support Berger's and Farmer and Lesser's depiction of these nostalgic playbooks. However, the text of this quarto is quite another matter. An extensive, five-act conflation of both the 1622 quarto and 1623 Folio texts, the second quarto of *Othello* is a far cry from Berger's stable Elizabethan reprint. Moreover, the quality and scope of the conflation bears evidence of substantial textual intervention that led E.A.J. Honigmann to describe Q2 as "an edited text ... diligently prepared" that "deserves more attention than it usually receives from editors" (*Texts* 168). Berger's own study of Q2 praises the choices made by the textual agent between the multitudinous variations of words and phrases in the Q1 and F that

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[1] *Othello,* the Shakespeare play that is the focus of this chapter, does not make their list because it had only reached a second quarto by the end of the Caroline period. However, it was one of the only Shakespeare plays that continued to appear in quarto throughout the second half of the seventeenth century (Q3 1655, Q4 1681, Q5 1687, Q6 1695) and into the eighteenth century with another quarto derivative of Q2 in 1705.

are "equally appropriate and equally Shakespearean" ("Second Quarto" 31).[2] Berger's description of Q2 as evidence of "an active alert editorial intelligence at work" challenges his own idea of the pure and simple text readers expected to find behind the uncomplicated title pages of Shakespeare quartos ("Second Quarto" 34). In a similar way, previous studies have neglected to consider Q2 as the collective product of Shakespeare and his collaborating stationers: the publisher/bookseller Richard Hawkins and the printer Augustine Mathewes. This chapter addresses this oversight by considering the collective agency of the playwright, publisher, and printer of Q2 *Othello* in order to better understand the contradiction of old and new in this text. In Part One the editorial and typographical contributions of Hawkins and Mathewes are analysed through their collaboration in four dramatic quartos: *Philaster* (STC 1683, 1628), *The Maid's Tragedy* (STC 1679, 1630), *A King and No King* (STC 1672, 1631), and *Othello* (STC 22306, 1630). Once the distribution of authority and the character of textual agency within these textual spaces is determined, Part Two constructs a profile of Hawkins's publisher intervention. Finally, in Part Three Hawkins's specific textual interventions in Q2 *Othello* are examined in detail. The chapter concludes by considering what Hawkins's unusual approach to Q2 can tell us about Shakespeare's textual authority in Caroline England. Ultimately, this chapter shows that early modern reprints of commercial drama are sites of active publisher engagement in co-operation with the work of their playwrights and how knowledge of this collective agency contributes to broader discussions of the reception of Shakespeare in the early modern period.

3.2 Textual Authority in the Hawkins / Mathewes Repertoire

By the time Richard Hawkins and Augustine Mathewes collaborated on Q2 in 1630, they were already established members of the Stationers' Company. Taking their freedom within years of each other, with Hawkins joining the company in 1611 and Mathewes in 1615, the two men were near contemporaries (Arber, III, 683, 684). Trained as a printer, Mathewes regularly produced texts for other stationers and additional imprints, where he is the only stationer listed, suggest he may have published or at least sold some of the books he printed. His first entry in the *Stationers' Register* records his acquisition of the rights to Thomas Dekker's *The Bellman of London* from John Busby in 1619 and confirms that early in his career Mathewes was already interested in

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[2] Berger quotes this phrase from Norman Sanders's New Cambridge text of *Othello* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984, 2003)216.

developing his own repertoire. However, Mathewes printed his first playbook, the second edition of *Greene's Tu Quoque or the City Gallant* (STC 5674), for the publisher Thomas Dewe a couple of years later in 1622. Although Mathewes's name is absent from the *Greene's Tu Quoque* title page, this publication initiates an extended career of play printing that would produce forty-seven play quartos over the next fifteen years, including plays by Webster, Kyd, Beaumont and Fletcher, Middleton, Davenant, and Shakespeare. His colleague Richard Hawkins trained as a bookseller and bookbinder; however, the regular appearance of his name in the *Stationers' Register* and on title page imprints as having texts printed "for" him suggests that he also published many of the books he sold. Hawkins began publishing in his own name just one year after obtaining his livery from the Stationers' Company. Although his earliest recorded title in the *Stationers' Register* was the closet tragedy *The Tragedy of Mariam, The Fair Queene of Jewery* (STC 4613, 1613), dramatic publication did not feature prominently in Hawkins's repertoire until he suddenly acquired the rights to four plays in 1628. Instead, perhaps driven by his bookstall's location in Chancery Lane amongst the Inns of Court, Hawkins's publication repertoire consisted largely of academic works by local mathematicians, theologians, and other "*Louer[s] of Learning*"(*Cato* title page).[3]

Hawkins and Mathewes first collaborated on the non-dramatic text *A Handful of Honesty* or *Cato in English* (STC 4861) in 1623. With numerous authorial dedications, prefaces, and extended title page content including an epigram and description of the writer as "I.P. *Louer of Learning*", *Cato* is heavily influenced by the agency of its writer. As a result, the dynamic of Hawkins and Mathewes's collaboration is not markedly visible until their extended collaboration over four playtexts: the 1628 publication of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher's *Philaster* (STC 1683, Q3), the 1630 edition of *The Maid's Tragedy* (STC 1679, Q3), the 1631 edition of *A King and No King* (STC 1672, Q3), and the 1630 edition of Shakespeare's *Othello*. With his full name and a detailed description of his shop as "in *Chancery-lane*, adioyning / to *Sarjeants Inne* gate" (*Philaster* Q3), Hawkins's textual agency is clearly identifiable to readers of these title pages. Mathewes, on the other hand, is less conspicuous identifying himself only as "A.M." and making no mention of the location of his printing house. In fact, apart from repeated use of bracket type pieces on the title pages of *Philaster* and *A King and No King,* Mathewes incorporates no consistent printers' device, such as Okes did with his Jove image, to

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[3] Several of Hawkins's texts reference mathematicians working out of Gresham College see Mordechi Feingold's "Gresham College ad London Practitioners: the nature of the English Mathematical Community." in *Sir Thomas Gresham and Gresham College: Studies in the Intellectual History of London in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* Cambridge, 2002. 174-97.

readily associate his name with these quartos. Mathewes's unassuming textual persona no doubt suited Hawkins who, as this chapter will illustrate, is visible throughout texts and paratexts of all four quartos. Perhaps more telling of the success of the relationship is the absence of any mention of mistakes made by Mathewes in any of Hawkins's editions. As Sonia Massai observes, stationers like Hawkins, who advertised the origins of his texts as "*according to the true Copie*" and "*Reuifed and Refined*", were also "far more likely to blame printers than authors for the shortcomings of the printed text" (*Rise* 5). With his own epistles in his editions of *Philaster* and *A King and No King*, and with no living writers to contend with, Hawkins had ample opportunity to defer responsibility for any errata onto Mathewes. For this reason, his silence makes it reasonable to conclude that Mathewes, who was by this time a practised printer of dramatic texts, habitually printed Hawkins's quartos to the publisher's specifications.

3.3 Richard Hawkins: Publisher and Reader

Within the context of this amicable, productive collaboration in which Hawkins is the most visible agent as editor and publisher and Mathewes's agency is limited to the technical elements of printing, it is reasonable to attribute other authorising paratextual elements typically assigned to publishers to Hawkins's intervention. For example, the title pages of *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy,* and *A King and No King* prominently identify their playwrights as "Gentleman" or "Gent". (See Figure 3.1) Reminding readers of Beaumont and Fletcher's status as university educated and, in Beaumont's case, a member of the Inner Temple suggests a class link between the playwrights and the members of the Inns of Court who lived and worked around Hawkins's Chancery Lane bookshop (Gurr xx, xxi-xxii). The desire to present these gentlemen's plays to similarly gentle readers is explicitly expressed in his epistles which are addressed directly to "THE VNDERSTANDING / GENTRIE" in *Philaster* and the "DRAMATOPHILVS" in *A King and No King,* offering further evidence of dramatic publications tailored to Hawkins's local clientele. In addition to stressing the writerly pedigree of his dramatic publications, Hawkins also took care to advertise his quartos as current. Versions of *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy,* and *A King and No King* similar to Hawkins's texts were already available in multiple editions. By identifying his quartos as "*The third Impreſſion*" (*Philaster* and *The Maid's Tragedy*) and "*now the third time Printed*" (*A King and No King*), Hawkins distinguished his publications from those earlier editions. Not expecting newness alone to sell his editions, Hawkins enticed readers further by emphasising the novelty of his

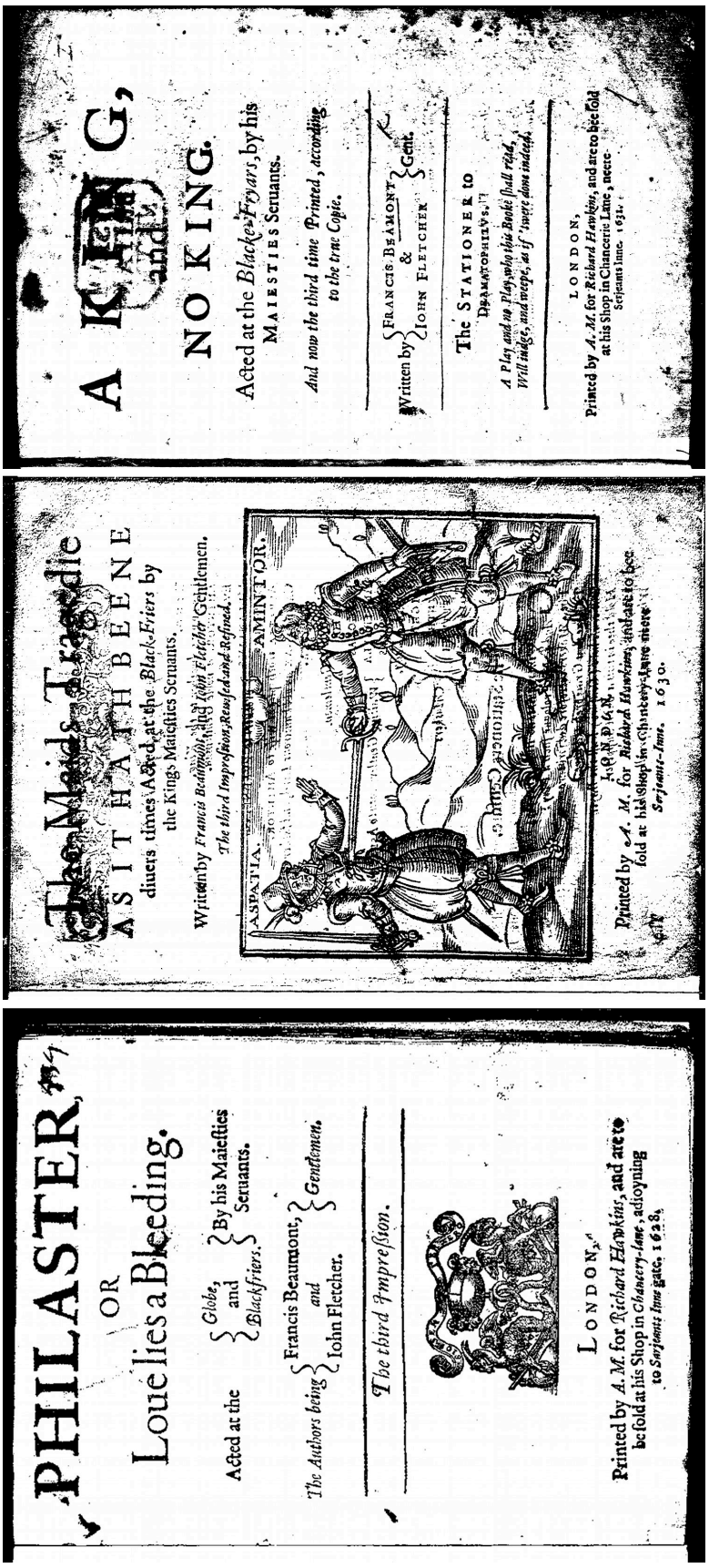
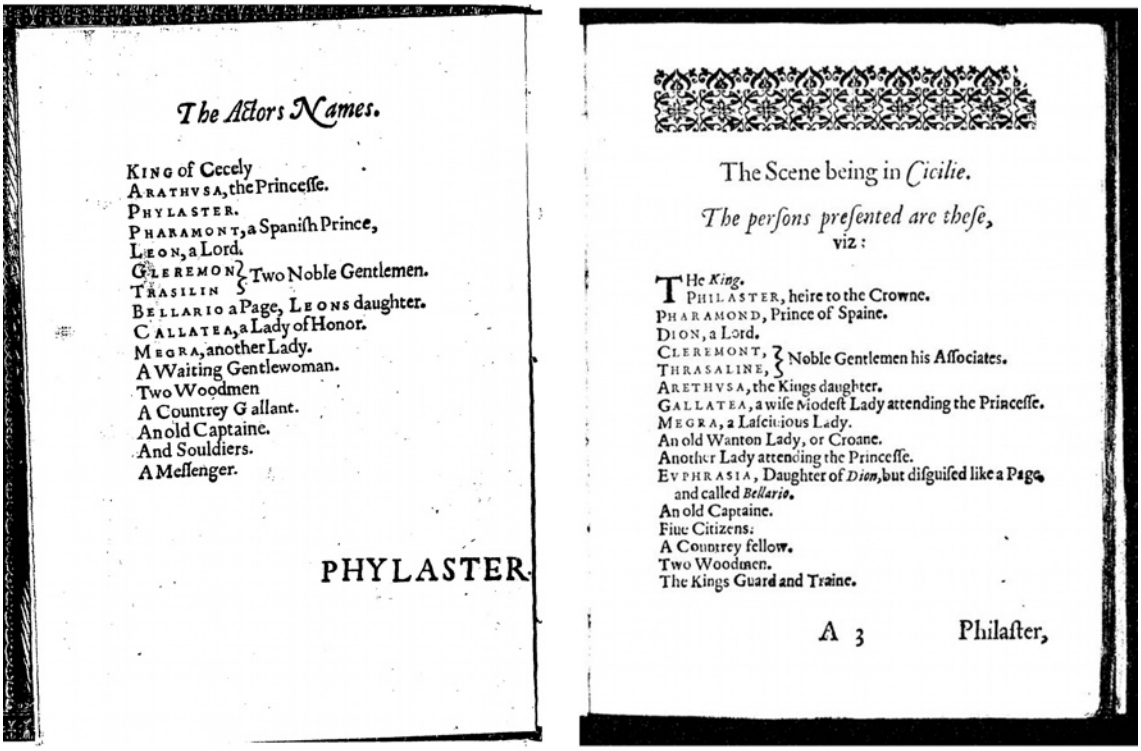


Figure 3.1 (L-R) Title pages for Hawkins's quartos of *Philaster* (1628, Q3), *The Maid's Tragedy* (1630, Q3), and *A King and No King* (1631, Q3).

editions. With *A King and No King* also advertised as created "*according / to the true Copie*" and his third impression of *The Maid's Tragedy* described as "*Reuiſed and Refined*", Hawkins markets his editions as both the latest and most recently corrected versions of these plays. That Hawkins believed readers desired editions that were improvements on their predecessors is revealed in the publisher's dedication to *Philaster,* "THE STATIONER, / *TO* / THE VNDERSTANDING / GENTRIE", where Hawkins likens plays to gold claiming that "*the more it hath beene tried and refined, the better is eſteemed*" (A2v, 1-3). Hawkins also invites the readers into this process describing them as "*the skilfull Triers and Refiners*" of the text whom he claims were the inspiration for his edition (A2v,9-10, 7). The above paratextual evidence shows Hawkins actively fashioning his texts towards a particular readership in a manner typically expected of an early modern publisher and similar to tactics already seen in John Danter's quartos. However, Hawkins's textual intervention goes much further.

In *Philaster,* the list of *dramatis personae* introduced as "*The perſons preſented are theſe*" (A3r) is based upon a corresponding list from Thomas Walkley's 1620 first edition of the play (STC 1681.5, B1v). Hawkins's list, however, differs throughout with corrected spellings of character names and a reordering of characters by importance. Hawkins's list also contains additional character descriptions. Gallatea, for instance, who is described generically as "a Lady of Honor" in Q1, becomes "a wiſe Modeſt Lady attending the Princeſſe" in Q3 and Megra, who is listed as simply "another Lady", is more explicitly described as "A Laſciuious Lady" in Hawkins's quarto. Where the dual role of Euphrasia/Bellario is introduced as "Bellario a Page, LEONS daughter" in Q1, Q3 offers a complete summary of her character arc, listing her first as "EVPHRASIA" and following with the detailed description of her as "Daughter of *Dion*, but diſguiſed like a Page and called *Bellario*". The addition of further detail to characters who have general or no description in Q1, such as Philaster who is identified for the first time as "heire to the Crowne", Arethusa who is transformed from "the Princeſſe" to "the Kings daughter", "Souldiers" and "A Messenger", who become "The Kings Guard and Traine" and two "Noble Gentlemen", Cleremont and Thrasaline, who are marked as Dion's "Aſſociates", suggests particular interest in clarifying relationships between characters for readers of Q3. (See Figure 3.2) Further examination of these quartos reveals that these changes and additions are not recollections of performance but references to the copytext. The description of Gallatea as "wiſe [and] Modeſt" in the *dramatis personae* reflects Dion's pronouncement of Gallatea as "**A wiſe & modeſt**



The Actors Names.

KING of Cecely
ARATHVSA, the Princeſſe.
PHYLASTER.
PHARAMONT, a Spaniſh Prince,
LEON, a Lord.
CLEREMON } Two Noble Gentlemen.
TRASILIN }
BELLARIO a Page, LEONS daughter.
CALLATEA, a Lady of Honor.
MEGRA, another Lady.
A Waiting Gentlewoman.
Two Woodmen
A Countrey Gallant.
An old Captaine.
And Souldiers.
A Meſſenger.

PHYLASTER.

The Scene being in *Cicilie.*

The perſons preſented are theſe,
viz:

THe *King.*
PHILASTER, heire to the Crowne.
PHARAMOND, Prince of Spaine.
DION, a Lord.
CLEREMONT, } Noble Gentlemen his Aſſociates.
THRASALINE, }
ARETHVSA, the Kings daughter.
GALLATEA, a wiſe Modeſt Lady attending the Princeſſe.
MEGRA, a Laſcivious Lady.
An old Wanton Lady, or Croane.
Another Lady attending the Princeſſe.
EVPHRASIA, Daughter of *Dion*, but diſguiſed like a Page, and called *Bellario.*
An old Captaine.
Five Citizens.
A Countrey fellow.
Two Woodmen.
The Kings Guard and Traine.

A 3 Philaſter,

Figure 3.2 (L-R) *Dramatis personae* from *Philaster:* Q1 (1620, A1r) and Q3 (1628, A3).

Gentlewoman, that attends the Princeſſe" (A4v, 26). A few lines later Dion gives an extensive characterisation of Megra beginning "She'll cog, & lie with a whole Ar- / my, before the league ſhall breake..." (A4r, 32-38) that is eloquently summarised as "Lascivious" in Hawkins's list. The most remarkable evidence of knowledge of the text is the Q3 list's preference of Euphrasia over Bellario. With only three mentions of the name in the entire play appearing within twenty lines of each other in the final signature (L1r, 9, 20, 30), the use of the revealed name rather than the name used throughout the five act play is compelling evidence that the editorial agent not only referred to the text but was aware of the play's ending before he revised the list. Additional examples from Hawkins's edition of *A King and No King* also show use of details from the playtext to construct the *dramatis personae.* Bearing the delightful name "The Perſonated Perſons." (A2v), Hawkins's list shares an interest in the particulars of character status and interrelations: Spaconia is introduced as both a "Lady" and "Daughter of *Lygones*", Gobrius is identified as "Lord Protectour, and Father of *Arbaces*", and Panthea is connected to Arane as "her Daughter". And just as "Souldiers" and "Meſſenger" become "The Kings Guard and Traine" in *Philaster,* a servant in *A King and No King* is

affiliated with a particular house as "A ſeruant to *Bacurius*".[4] That this distinction is clearly made in the stage direction "*Enter Bacurius and his ſervant*" (K4v, 19) again suggests that the *dramatis personae* was created with knowledge of details in the playtext.

The presence of paratextual dedications and *dramatis personae* in *The Maid's Tragedy, Philaster,* and *A King and No King* depicts Richards Hawkins as an active publisher who used his textual authority to construct quartos that would appeal to a particular readership. Moreover, similar focus on describing personal relations between characters in the *dramatis personae* of both *Philaster* and *A King and No King* strongly suggest that the lists were emended by the same annotator. With no evidence indicating playwright intervention in these quartos, the most logical source of these insightful changes becomes the agent most invested in the texts, their publisher Richard Hawkins. Considered in light of his active fashioning of the title pages and dedications for *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy,* and *A King and No King,* this kind of active textual intervention is not without precedent. As a result, Hawkins's enhancement of these *dramatis personae* stands as a logical extension of his attention to dramatic publication. This attribution is further supported in the discussion of Hawkins as an annotating reader that follows below.

Part 2

3.4 Richard Hawkins: Annotator and Editor

Hawkins's editions of *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy, Othello,* and *A King and No King* also provide a sizeable collection of substantive textual variants that reveal identifiable patterns of consistent editorial style. Editors have repeatedly acknowledged the value of individual variants in these quartos, and, in the case of *The Maid's Tragedy,* modern editors, including Andrew Gurr and Robert Turner, have intimated that the emendations were "almost certainly" the work of Hawkins himself (Gurr, *Maid's Tragedy* 9; Turner 4-5).[5] The detailed study of variant readings in *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy, Othello,* and *A King and No King* presented here also strongly suggests that the same hand may be responsible for a range of annotation across all four quartos. Combined with Hawkins's use of paratexts and his position as assigned owner of the rights to publish

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[4] The only Hawkins's addition to the *dramatis personae* for *The Maid's Tragedy* also shows interest in social status, listing Amintor as "a noble Gentleman" (A1v).

[5] Turner's identification of Hawkins is also quoted by T.W. Craik in his edition of *The Maid's Tragedy* (Manchester UP, 1988) 44.

these plays, this evidence makes Hawkins the most likely candidate for editorial agent of these quartos. However, until now no one has profiled Hawkins's editorial practices through his play quartos. The following study of the most prominent substantive variants across Hawkins's dramatic repertoire identifies similarities in editorial intervention across these four texts which in turn support the theory that Hawkins is the likely editorial agent behind these "Reuised and Refined" quartos.

In her 2007 study *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor*, Massai examines the contributions of a largely neglected group of agents she identifies as "annotating readers" (*Rise* 30). According to Massai, correctors of the earliest dramatic publications aimed to "perfect" copy in preparation for print by completing or correcting particular elements such as "inconsistencies in speech prefixes, stage directions, and dialogue", whose relevance was innately linked to the "fictive world of the play" (*Rise* 5, 11). In addition to evidence in the *dramatis personae* already discussed, substantive variants from all four of Hawkins's dramatic publications suggest a similar interest in these issues. One of the better known of these corrections is found in *Philaster* where the emendation of the speech prefix for Arethusa from "*Ara.*" to "*Are.*" in signatures C1r to F3v is consistent with Hawkins's adjustment of the spelling of the princess's name from "Arathusa" as it appeared in the two previous quartos to "Arethusa" in the third. He also corrects wrongly assigned speeches as at 3.1.275 when he properly reassigns the end of Bellario's speech back to Philaster (F3r, 12) and restores speeches wrongly divided by extraneous speech prefixes as in Philaster's speech at 3.1.152 (F1r, 23) and in Arbaces's speech at 5.4.265 in *A King and No King* (M2v, 10). There is also evidence of Hawkins perfecting stage directions, many of which are still adopted by modern editors. These include additions of exits in *Othello* at 2.3.153 (E2r, 16) and 4.1.58-59 (H4v,35), removing incorrect exits as in *Philaster* 4.5.61(H2r, 22), and occasional additions of new directions like "*Thrusts him in.*" to describe Iago's attack on Roderigo at 5.1.62-63 (L1v, 30).[6]

While such corrections exemplify the kinds of revision expected from an annotating reader focused on "inconsistencies", the defining tasks of correcting and completing do not fully represent the large percentage of Hawkins's editorial choices that seem less concerned with correcting copy than in embellishing the text (Massai, *Rise* 5). For this reason, it is more productive to consider the majority of Hawkins's variants not in terms of perfecting but rather as attempts to "refine", a term he uses both to describe the editorial process and to authenticate the value of his copy. In his preface

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[6] The variants discussed in Chapters Three and Four are catalogued and described in the Appendix.

"THE STATIONER, / *TO* / THE VNDERSTANDING / GENTRIE", Hawkins draws upon the most common use of "refine", "to free from impurities; to purify cleanse", to create a comparison between the process of purifying gold and editing a play, "*prooving it ſelfe like pure Gold, which the more it hath beene* ***tried and refined****, the better is eſteemed*" (A2v, 1-3) ("Refine"). More than just an argument for his edition as the best new product, Hawkins's analogy introduces the reader to a process that involves not only refining but in equal measure "trying", two terms that imply repeated or continuous incremental improvement. In this way, the *primum mobile* of Hawkins's editorial approach is not so much a desire to "complete" or "correct" as much as, or as Hawkins puts it in his title page of *The Maid's Tragedy,* to present texts that were "*Reuiſed and Refined*". The variant readings which follow reveal that Hawkins's editorial project concentrated on four major categories of textual intervention: clarifying details, enhancing textual performance, restoring poetic meter, and rhetorical effect.

This first class of variant, clarifying details, addresses reading in the text that might be considered imprecise. For example, in *A King and No King* changing the description of Bessus's sides from "like **to** wicker Targets" to "like **two** wicker Targets" refines the image to a specific, logical number (5.1.57; Q2, K1r, 18; Q3, K2r, 18). Likewise at 5.3.74 of the same play, Hawkins's change to Bacurius's question:

> What's that in your potcket **ſlaue, my toe** you / mungrell? (Q2, K4v, 21-2)
> What's that in your pocket, **hurts my toe** you / mungrell? (Q3, L1v, 21-2)

restructures the line, allowing for a more sensical and fluid interpretation. Hawkins's emendation was deemed logical enough to persist through three more quartos (1639, 1655, 1661), Humphrey Moseley's 1647 Folio collection (Wing B1581), and is noted by the play's Revels editor Lee Bliss as appearing in modern editions until the 1930s (160). Details are also refined to fit broader contexts. In the final lines of Arbaces's address to the citizens at 2.2.80-90 of *A King and No King,* his sentiment that peace "is not to be bought, but **with our blouds**" (Q2, D3v, 35), implying a combined effort of King and subjects, is changed to Q3's "is not to be bought, but **vvith your blouds**" (Q3, D4v, 35). Since Q2's reading already made sense, the Q3 change can be read as an adjustment that converts Q2's unified image of King and country to one where the ultimate price will be paid by the citizens alone. Furthermore, the Q3 reading is not without precedent in the play, as it reiterates the existing message of Arbaces's speech that the citizenry bears the heavier burden:

> By you I grovv, 'tis your vnited loue
> That lifts me to this height:
> All the account that I can render you
> For al the loue you haue beſtowed on me,
> All your expences to maintaine my vvarre,
> Is but a little vvord, you vvill imagine
> 'Tis ſlender payment, yet 'tis ſuch a vvord
> As is not to be bought, but vvith your blouds,
> 'Tis peace. (*King* 2.2.82-90; Q3 D4v, 28-36).

Beyond a basic familiarity with the action of the scene, this variant reveals a level of scrutiny that goes beyond a concern that the line should make sense, to making sure that it is consistent with the larger sentiment of the character's speech. Additional examples, such as the following from *The Maid's Tragedy* and *Philaster,* further highlight Hawkins's attention to the fictive world of the plays and their characters in variants that reinforce underlying character traits or conditions.

> *Maid's* 4.1.82:
> *Mel.* ...your great maintainers...will ſooner **ſnatch** meat from a hungry / Lyon then come to reſcue thee; (Q2, G2v, 13, 17-8)
>
> *Mel.* ...your great maintainers...will ſooner **fetch** meat from a hungry / Lyon then come to reſcue thee; (Q3, G2v, 13, 17-8)[7]
>
> *Philaster* 5.5.83:
> *Di.* Come ſir, your tender fleſh wil **tire** your conſtancy. (Q2, L1v, 23)
> *Di.* Come ſir, your tender fleſh will **trie** your conſtancie. (Q3, K4v, 23)

Hawkins's preference for "fetch" over Q2's (and also Q1's) use of "ſnatch" foregrounds the subservient role of Evadne's "maintainers", who attend her only out of obligation, and reinforces Melantius's argument that no one will willingly defend her. Similarly, the change to "trie" in Dion's line from *Philaster* infers that Bellario/Euphasia's impending "torture" is meant to test her commitment to the lie regarding Philaster's meeting with Arethusa as well as to her own disguise. These examples reveal a process of reading for context and detail that is repeated throughout Hawkins's editions of *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy, Othello,* and *A King and No King* showing Hawkins actively engaging as a reader and and editor with themes and ideas in his dramatic publications.

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[7] All references to Act/scene/line numbers for *The Maid's Tragedy* refer to T.W. Craik's 1999 Revels Plays edition.

3.5 Virtual Performance

The second class of variants in Hawkins's play quartos demonstrate a desire to enhance reader experience. In Chapter One, the descriptive quality of Henry Chettle's stage directions in Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* was identified as performing a distinctly reader-oriented function of enhancing the virtual performance of the printed play. Variants in Hawkins's editions of *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy, Othello,* and *A King and No King* similarly address the particular experience of reading dramatic texts. For example, *Philaster* and *A King and No King* contain identical, original additions to exit stage directions that significantly alter the visual image suggested in the text. The simultaneous exits of Pharamond and Megra at the end of *Philaster* 2.2 and a similar exit for Arbaces and Panthea at the end of Act four of *A King and No King* are both emended to highlight the fact that the pairs do not just leave, but "Ex seueral waies" and "exeunt seueral wayes" respectively (D2v, 36; K1r, 27).[8] The addition adds a final image of division to two scenes in which couples embark on clandestine relationships symbolised by their separate departures. In performance the detail of these "seueral" exits could be conveyed to an audience through the actors' movements. However, for a reader dependent on the text to inform his experience, Hawkins's addition is the only access to this relevant detail. This awareness of the potential impact of character movements on reader experience is particularly visible in Hawkins's re-envisioning of the entrance and exit of the Clown at the opening of Act three of *Othello.*[9] Both previous editions of this play begin the act with a mass entry:

> *Enter* Caſſio, *with Muſitians and the Clowne.* (Q1, F4r, 26)
> *Enter Caſſio, Muſitians, and Clowne.* (F1, TLN 1518)

While the Q1 and F1 directions suggest different relationships between the three characters, both entries give the necessary list of characters needed to prompt the stage manager, suggesting that either direction would have sufficed for performance purposes. However, with its readers in mind, Q2 devises a more explicit depiction of the opening sequence:

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[8] Act/scene/line numbers for *Philaster* refer to Andrew Gurr's 2003 Revels Plays edition. For *A King and No King* act/scene/line numbers refer to Lee Bliss's 2004 Revels Plays edition.

[9] All act/scene/line numbers refer to Honigmann's 1997 Arden 3 edition of *Othello*.

Enter Caſſio, *with Muſitians.*

Caſ. MAſters, play here, I will content your paines,
Something thats briefe, and bid good morrow Generall.
They play, and enter the Clowne. (Q2, F1r, 20-3)

By splitting the direction in two, the Clown's entrance in Q2 is delayed until after the musicians begin playing, restructuring the character movements into a sequence of events that link the entrances to the action suggested in the dialogue. In terms of virtual performance, this change adds a temporal texture to the scene by presenting the Clown's appearance as an encounter with the musicians, and understands his first line, "Why maſters, ha your Inſtruments bin at *Naples*, that they / ſpeake i'th noſe thus?" (3.1.3-4; Q2, F1r, 24-5) as a response to the scene already going on. Such details would be visually delivered to a playhouse audience, but the changes to Q2 make sure that a similar image is also available to readers. Hawkins's instincts are in line with Leslie Thomson's observation that "every Shakespeare play requires the addition of some basic stage directions and correction of others to bring them into conformity with implications in the dialogue" (180).[10] Moreover, many modern editions agree with some aspects of this change in Q2. All three Ardens, the New Cambridge, and the Oxford *Complete Works* mark the beginning of the music with a variant of Q2's "*They play*".[11] In his Arden 3 edition, E.A.J. Honigmann recognises the value of these changes by including variations on Q2: "*Enter* CASSIO *and some* Musicians." and "*They play. Enter* CLOWN." (3.1.00, 3.1.02 Honigmann), offering further evidence of the value of Hawkins's emendations in terms of reader experience. This sensibility is applied again a few lines later when the Clown exits. In F1, the Clown delivers his final line, "She is ſtirring ſir: if ſhe will ſtirre hither, I ſhall / ſeeme to notifie vnto her", and exits to fulfill this action (F1, TLN 1546-7).[12] Q2, however, delays this exit until after the beginning of Cassio's next line which is both an affirmation of the Clown's suggestion and a dismissal of the servant:

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[10] For additional discussion on the function of stage directions in reading early modern drama, see also John Cox "Open stage, open page? Editing stage directions in early dramatic texts." and M. J. Kidnie, "The Staging of Shakespeare's drama in print editions." both in *Textual Performances: The Modern Reproduction of Shakespeare's Drama.* Cambridge 2004, and also Kidnie's "Text, Performance, and the Editors: Staging Shakespeare's drama" which is the source of "virtual performance" quoted in Chapter One.

[11] Although he does not change the Clown's entrance, Norman Sanders does include Q2's "they play" direction in his New Cambridge edition.

[12] Q1 has no exit direction for the Clown.

Caf. Doe good my friend : In happy time *Iago*. *Exit Clo.*
(Q2, F1v, 16)

Hawkins's work is again confirmed as helpful to readers by Honigmann, M.R. Ridley the editor of Arden 2 *Othello,* Norman Sanders in his New Cambridge edition, and Scott McMillan's First Quarto edition who follow Hawkins's placement of the stage direction over that of F1.[13] In other instances, when faced with equally informative directions in both Q1 and F1, Hawkins combines the best of both in a descriptive combination:

Othello 2.2
Enter a ***Gentleman reading*** *a Proclamation.* (Q1, E3r, 12)
Enter ***Othello's, Herald with*** *a Proclamation.* (F1, TLN 1097)
Enter **Othello's** ***Herauld, reading*** *a Proclamation.* (Q2; D4r, 12)

Similarly at 5.2.336, Hawkins chooses F1s longer line over Q1 and in the process provides additional description of character movement:

Oth. Soft you, a word or two, (Q1, N1v,36)
Oth. Soft you; a word or two **before you goe:** (F1, TLN 3648)
Oth. Soft you, a word or two **before you goe;** (Q2, M3v, 33)

Functioning much like embedded stage directions, such emendations and additions provide extra guidance to the reader of Hawkins's playtext.[14] The effectiveness of these variants is evidence of Hawkins's careful reading of the plays beyond identifying glaring omissions or confusions to considering the overall success of the text as specifically experienced through the mind's eye of the reader. Variants like the examples above, which focus on details only visible to readers of the printed play, coincide with the interest in dramatic publication demonstrated in the additions made to the *dramatis personae* of *Philaster* and *A King and No King.* The consistent focus of textual intervention on commercial drama as reading texts supports this chapter's assertion that Hawkins is annotator of these quartos.

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[13] Additional examples of clarifying movement in stage directions in *Othello* include: 1.1.88, 2.1.95, 2.2.00, 2.3.161, 5.1.62-3 and in *King* 2.1.65 and can be found in the appendix.

[14] For additional examples see: *Philaster* 1.2.68, 4.4.60; *The Maid's Tragedy* 3.2.191, 5.5.268; *A King and No King* 1.1.57, 3.1.302; *Othello* 5.2.336 and can be found in the appendix.

3.6 *Lectio Difficilior* and Poetic Meter

Another characteristic of Hawkins's textual intervention is an interest in poetic imagery and meter. That Hawkins wrote his epistles "The Stationers Cenſure" and "The STATIONER to DRAMATOPHILVS" in verse suggests that the publisher/bookseller also saw himself as a bit of an amateur poet.

> The Stationers Cenſure.
>
> *GOod Wine requires no Buſh, they ſay,*
> *And I, No Prologue ſuch a Play:*
> *The Makers therefore did forbeare*
> *To haue that Grace prefixed here.*
> *But ceaſe here (Cenſure) leaſt the Buyer*
> *Hold thee in this a vaine Supplyer.*
> *My Office is to ſet it forth*
> *Where Fame applauds it's reall worthe.* (*Maid's,* 1630, A1v)[15]

> The STATIONER to DRAMATOPHILVS.
>
> *A Play and no Play, who this Booke ſhall read,*
> *Will iudge, and weepe, as if 'twere done indeed.* (*King* 1631, A1r)

It is not surprising, then, that another collection of textual variants reveal particular stylistic preferences for tone and meter. Investigating Hawkins's attention to reader experience has already revealed an appreciation of dramatic presentation. The original emendations below suggest an additional interest in applying his own writerly instincts to the language in these quartos. Consider, for example, these lines from *The Maid's Tragedy*:

> 1.2.179
> *Cinth.* And charge the **winde goe** from his rockie den, (Q2, B3r, 15)
> *Cinth.* And charge the **winde flie** from his rockie den, (Q3, B3r, 15)

> 3.2.143-44
> *Amin.* Not on thee, did thine anger **goe** as hie
> As **troubled waters**: (Q2, F2v, 5-6)
> *Amint.* Not on thee, did thine anger **ſwell** as hie
> As the **vvilde ſurges**: (Q3, F2v, 5-6)

[15] While the EEBO edition of this is difficult to read in places, a transcription may be found in Turner vol. 2, page 5.

Q3 changes in these lines consistently appear more dynamic than the Q2 readings and more like what we would expect from "literary gentry" like Beaumont and Fletcher (Gurr *Philaster* lxvii). Lacking the pedigree of the playwrights' authority, Hawkins's emendations are not included in modern editions. However, this does not mean that they are devoid of craft or contextual relevance. Hawkins's change from "goe" to "flie" provides description suitable to the decorum of a speech by the god Cynthia and an elevated tone that might be associated with a masque, as well a providing a more expressive image for the reader.[16] Likewise, Hawkins's elaboration of "fwell" to "vvilde furges" embellishes Amintor's refusal to draw his sword against Melantius in a similarly exuberant style.

A King and No King also contains additional examples of Hawkins augmenting the detail and decorum of the language of his publications with his knowledge of classical and literary figures. Tigranes's accusation that Arbaces's tyranny is "subtler than the burning bull's/ Or that famed tyrant's bed" (3.1.279 Craik) is identified by T.W. Craik and Robert Turner in their separate editions as an allusion to the Greek mythological figure Procrustes who would "fit" unknowing travellers to his bed frame by loping off any over-hanging limbs. Hawkins's change from "Or that **fam'd Tirants** bed" (Q2, F1r, 16) to "Or that **fram'd Titans** bed" (Q3, F2r, 16) clarifies the allusion by specifically referencing the bed frame, which is the central image of Procrustes' story.[17] Hawkins also reveals his knowledge of classical mythology by correctly citing Procrustes as a Titan, noting his pedigree as the son of Poseidon and grandchild of Cronus and Rhea: two of the original twelve Titans.[18] Hawkins's predilection for more complex imagery is also visible in Q2 *Othello* where his choices between Q1 and F1 variants (identified in bold and italic) again reveal a preference for the *lectio difficilior* or more difficult reading between two texts:

1.3.392

To get this place, and to **make** vp my will, (Q1, D2v, 7)
To get his Place, and to **plume** vp my will (F1, TLN 739)
To get this place, and to **plume** vp my will, (Q2, C3v,17)

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[16] T.W. Craik's edition of *The Maid's Tragedy* emends this line from the masque in 1.2 to "wind-god" interpreting the "goe" in Q1 and Q2 as a confusion of Secretary hand "d" and "e" (*Maid's* 71).

[17] My emphasis.

[18] Additional examples of this aspect of Hawkins's editorial practice can be found in *A King and No King:* 1.2.5, 4.3.25, 4.3.29, 5.3.92, 5.4.9 and are found in the appendix.

2.3.317-8

This **braule** betweene you and her husband, (Q1, F3r, 35-6)
This **broken ioynt** betweene / you, and her husband,
(F1, TLN 1446-7)
This **broken ioynt** betweene / you and her husband,
(Q2, E4r, 31-2)

3.4.178

But I ſhall in a more **conuenient** time, (Q1, I3v, 18)
But I ſhall in a more **continuate** time (F1, TLN 2338)
But I ſhall in a more **continuate** time, (Q2, H3v, 13)

3.3.118

As if thou then hadſt ſhut vp in thy braine,
Some horrible **counſell:**
(Q1, G3r, 5-6)
As if thou then hadd'ſt ſhut vp in thy Braine
Some horrible **Conceite**.
(F1, TLN 1721-2)
As if thou then hadſt ſhut vp in thy braine,
Some horrible **conceit**:
(Q2, F3v, 35-6).

Given each of the above choices, Hawkins, as in previous examples, opts for the more lyrical or imaginative reading. There are also examples where Hawkins, faced with F1 only passages, asserts his own poetic sensibilities. One of the most famous of these is found in Desdemona's song at 4.3.39:

*The poore Soule ſat **ſinging,** by a Sicamour tree.* (F1, TLN 3011)
*The poore ſoule ſate **ſighing** by a ſicamour tree,* (Q2, K4r, 2)

Not satisfied with the Folio's obvious "*ſinging*" and having no alternative from Q1, Hawkins provides "*ſighing*" as a reasonable alternative that anticipates the ballad as it appeared in *Percy's Reliques* (1765), suggesting that, as with the images of Procrustes, Hawkins may have been drawing from his own knowledge to refine the text.[19] Charlton Hinman makes a similar observation about Q2 in his 1948 study of the quarto in which he describes, though does not cite specifically, a particular Q2 addition as "undoubtedly a harder reading than that provided in both Q1 and F" ("Copy" 382). Similarly at 1.3.38-40, Hawkins rejects both Q1 and F1 offerings in favour of his own unique variant for this response to the approaching fleet:

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[19] Honigmann prints the ballad as it appeared in *Percy's Reliques* in his long notes for his Arden 3 *Othello* (339).

...and now they doe **reſterine** / Their backward courſe, (Q1, C1v, 20-21)
...and now they do **re-ſtem** / Their backward courſe (F1, TLN 368-69)
...and now they doe **reſterne** / Their backward courſe, (Q2, B2v, 35-36)

M.R. Ridley posits that "the editor of Q2 was clearly not happy with the supposition that the Q1 compositor had produced a *vox nihili* out of a straightforward 're-stemme'" (23). However Hawkins's introduction of "reſterne", a rejection of both Q1's "reſterine" and F1's "re-ſtem", the variant most frequently accepted by modern editions, suggests motivation beyond simply clearing up a nonsensical word.[20] With "reſterne" Hawkins shows both his deference to context and his preference for *lectio difficilior* by returning the line to its contextual origin amongst the nautical maneuvers of approaching vessels that are the focus of this moment in the play. Honigmann concludes that such variants between "F and Q2 must mean that by the 1620s Shakespeare's language was felt to be puzzling-sometimes 'obscure', sometimes 'not to be understood'" (*Texts* 170-1).[21] However, considered alongside other original changes to the three Beaumont and Fletcher plays, Hawkins's emendations to *Othello* demonstrate that behind this "careful mind at work" lay a general desire to embellish language rather than simply updating archaic Shakespearean vocabulary (Honigmann *Texts* 170).

A different group of language-oriented variants show Hawkins conservatively following the basic poetic structures of rhyming couplets and the steady, even rhythm of iambic meter. Variants from all four of Hawkins's play quartos reveal attempts to standardise the meter of lines to these specifications. Frequently these adjustments are achieved by adding one new syllable to the line, usually in the form of a short word, as in these examples from *The Maid's Tragedy*:

2.1.123
ASP. So with praiers I leaue you, and muſt trie
Some yet vnpractiſ'd way to grieue and die. (Q1, D1r, 19-20)

Aſp. So with praie[r]s I leaue you, and muſt trie
Some yet vnpracti[s]'d way to g[r]i[e]ue and die. (Q2, C2v, 31-32)

Aſp. So with **my** prayers I leaue you, and muſt trie
Some yet vnpractis'd way to grieue and die. (Q3, C2v, 31-32)

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[20] Both Arden 2 and 3 follow F1.

[21] Honigmann discusses "the attitude of Shakespeare's contemporaries to his language" further at *Texts* 100-1.

4.2.195
Mel. She vnderſtood him not, but it becomes
Both you **and me to** forgiue diſtraction,
(Q1, I2v, 3-4 and Q2, H4v, 10-11)

M*el.* She vnderſtood him not, but it becomes
Both you **and me too, to** forgiue diſtraction, (Q3, H4v, 10-11)

Both of these examples are typical of emendments to lines that contained odd numbers of metrical beats. Adding the extra syllable resolves the line on the second (stressed) syllable of the iambic foot. For instance, by changing Aspatia's line to "So with my prayers I leave you", Hawkins supplies a tenth beat which T.W. Craik observes corrects the "metrical irregularity of Qq1 and Q2" thus "restoring the metre by supplying the natural word" (86). Craik sees similar practice in Hawkins's more awkward emendation "too, to" in Melantius's line at 4.2.195. Although he concludes that Q3's version is "weak" with "'too' being tautologous after 'both'", Craik still acknowledges Hawkins's change as "showing how a contemporary heard the rhythm" (163-64). For the same reason, Andrew Gurr includes Hawkins's revision to 1.1.223 *Philaster* in his edition:

Phi. Or backe ſuch **belied** commendations, (Q2, B4r, 26)
Phi. Or backe ſuch **bellied** commendations, (Q3, B3r, 26).

Noting that Q2's "belied" is plausible but that Q3 "fits the metre more easily, and accords with the picture of 'fat' Pharamond", Gurr highlights an interest in editing for both meter and context seen repeatedly throughout Hawkins's quartos (*Philaster* 15). More examples of this interest in creating iambic meter are visible in *A King and No King* and, on occasion, in *Othello:*

King 3.1.104
Pan. Poyson'd with anger **that may** ſtrike me dead. (Q2, E2v, 5)
Pan. Poyſon'd with anger **that it may** ſtrike me dead. (Q3, E3v, 5)

King 5.4.70
Arb. Curſes **incurable,** and all the euils (Q2, L2r, 30)
Arb. Curſes **more incurable**, and all the euils (Q3, L3r, 30)

Othello 5.2.148
Æmil. My Husband ſay ſhe was falſe? (F1)
Em. My husband ſay **that** ſhe was falſe? (Q2, M1r, 14).[22]

[22] Other examples of additions for meter include *Othello* 4.2.73; *King* 4.4.162.

In each instance, single additions to the text help regulate the rhythm of the line. Moreover, what individually appear to be unremarkable additions of seemingly inconsequential words collectively provide a *modus operandi* of editorial process. Similarly, repeated use of contractions as in these variants from *Othello* and *The Maid's Tragedy* might also be read as conscientious intervention aimed at regulating meter:

Othello 5.2.37

Def. And yet I fear you, for **you are** fatall then, (Q1, M1v, 15)
Def. And yet I fear you for **y'are** fatall then, (Q2, L3r, 31)

Maid 1.2.221 from 'First Song'

Pace out you **watery** powers below, (Q2, B3v, 31)
Pace out you **wat'ry** powers below, (Q3, B3v, 31).

Contracting existing words in each of these lines removes an unpaired beat and standardises the rhythms into a pentameter (5.2.37) and a heptameter line (1.2.221) respectively. Emendation to the line from the "First Song", "Pace out you wat'ry powers below", again illustrates Craik's notion of contemporary pronunciation by presenting an alternative variant to the earlier quartos that is equally readable. Under conventional models of textual authority, it might be argued that such emendations were the result of compositorial preferences in setting copytext. However, within the larger pattern of perfecting poetic meter visible in examples from all four of these texts, these contractions may at least be observed as contributing to the collective project of refining poetic elements of these play quartos. More ambitiously, they may reflect an additional feature of Hawkins's textual intervention. On occasion, these metrical emendations find their way into modern editions, as in 1.1.152 of Craik's edition of *The Maid's Tragedy*:

MEL. There is no place that I can **challenge gentlemen**, (Q1, B3r, 2)
Mel. There is no place that I can **challenge:** (Q2, A4v, 2)
Mel. There is no place that I can **challenge in't** (Q3, A4r, 3)[23]

Hawkins's addition not only refines the meaning by suggesting a futility behind Melantius's line but, as Craik points out, also "restores the original line" to an iambic rhythm (59). In the examples above, Hawkins's understanding of the iambic meter as central to the language of early modern plays results in variants that support existing metrical structures and further refine the reader's experience of the play's language.

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[23] The signatures in the beginning of this quarto repeat 'A' and 'B' signatures twice, the A4r that this variant appears on can be found on EEBO image 5.

However, Hawkins's poetic capabilities are at times noticeably limited to his own amateur understanding of the art form. Certain variants, like the following from Q3 *Philaster,* impose Hawkins's rules of style and form against the playwright's creative subversions of stylistic conventions.

1.1.101

K. To **talke of** her perfect loue to you, or adde (Q2, B2v, 7)
King. To **ſpeake** her perfect loue to you, or adde (Q3, B1v, 6)

1.1.243

Phi. Dare you be ſtill my King, and **right me**? (Q2, B4v, 11)
Phi. Dare you be ſtill my King, and **right me not**? (Q3, B3v, 11)

In 1.1.101, Hawkins's emendation "To ſpeake" suggests that he sees "To talke of" not as a triple beat that enhances the musical sound of the line but as a disruption. In this case, standardisation of the rhythm actually simplifies the poetic complexion of Beaumont and Fletcher's language back to a more basic form. His addition to 1.1.243 likewise follows his consistent practice of regulating line rhythms, this time by providing a tenth beat to create a pentameter line. Andrew Gurr notes that at this point in the play Philaster is daring the King into a paradox: will the King "be kingly in seeing justice done, and at the same time fill his judicial function by returning Philaster his right, the throne" (*Philaster* 16). Hawkins's addition of "not" to the Q3 line removes this paradox suggesting he was attuned to meter and literal meaning rather than complex language games. While making no attempt to connect the Q2 annotations with Hawkins, Charlton Hinman identified similar instances of single-word additions in his early study of Q2 *Othello* ("Copy"378). Such examples of what Hinman described as "hypermetrical verse" coincide with the consistent refining of poetic meter seen throughout this profile and reveal the intervention in matters of meter to be more characteristic of an editor than a professional poet, further supporting the idea of Hawkins as the annotating agent in these quartos ("Copy" 378).

3.7 Rhetoric

Metrical emendations were just one way in which Hawkins thought he would restore order to lines which appeared disrupted by the unstable process of playbook production and transmission. As a long time publisher of poetry and prose ranging from

Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (STC 17421, 1629) to translations like *Cato in English* (STC 4861, 1623), it is not surprising that Hawkins would develop a familiarity with the common rhythms and sounds of early modern syntax. In particular, Hawkins's emendations to his dramatic publications express a concern for introducing and enhancing rhetorical parallelism throughout these plays. For example, Hawkins's preferences between Q1 and F1 variants for Q2 *Othello* repeatedly reveal interest in the rhetorical balance provided by various forms of repetition.

2.1.68
2 Gent. Tempeſts themſelues, **by** ſeas, and **houling** windes, (Q1, D3v, 33)

Caſſio: Tempeſts themſelues, **high** Seas, and **howling** windes, (F1, TLN 830)

2 *Gent.* Tempeſts themſelues, **high** ſeas, and **houling** winds, (Q2, C4v, 36)

3.3.207
Iag. They dare shew their husbands : their best conscience,
Is not to **leaue** vndone, but **keepe** vnknowne.
(Q1, G4, 27-28)

Ia. They dare not ſhew their Husbands.
Their beſt Conſcience,
Is not to **leaue't** vndone, but **kept** vnknowne.
(F1, TLN 1819-21)

Iag. They dare not ſhew their husbands: their beſt conſcience
Is not to **leaue't** vndone, but **keepe't** vnknowne.
(Q2, G1r, 18-19)

2.1.68 and 3.3.207 show, when choosing between Q1 and F1 *Othello,* a preference for the repetitive sounds of alliteration and assonance.[24] Hawkins's choice of F1's more descriptive "high Seas" over Q1's "by ſeas" accepts the alliterative "h" sound capitalised upon in F1's pairing of "high" and "houling". This editorial decision also complements the highly alliterative nature of the rest of Cassio's speech (assigned to which continues with a repetition of "c" and "g" sounds: "The guttered rockes, and congregated ſands, / Traitors enſteep'd, to clog the guiltleſſe Keele," (2.1.69-70; Q2, C4v, 37-38). In Iago's line at 3.3.207, Hawkins combines the "leave't" of F1 with Q1's "keepe" creating previously non-existent assonance within the adjoining phrases. His introduction of "t" at the end of "keepe" extends the syntactical similarity further by creating both visual and rhythmic parallels between the ends of both phrases: "leaue't vndone" and "keepe't vnknowne". Neither Arden 3 nor the Oxford *Complete Works* (3.3.208) acknowledge this

[24] See also *Othello* 3.3.122 in the appendix.

variant's origin in Hawkins's edition. However, both see this emended conflation as "Shakespearean" enough to include in their editions, categorising Hawkins's addition as one of "those kinds of leaps on which the best emendations depend" (Berger, "Second Quarto" 34). The same process appears to be at work in the combination of Q1 and F1 readings in Roderigo's line at 4.2.195:

Rod. ...**it is** not very well, / by this hand, I ſay **tis** very ſcuruy, (Q1, L1v,16-17)
Rod. ...nor / **tis** not very well. Nay I **think it is** ſcuruy : (F1, TLN 2909-10)
Rod. ...nor **t'is** not very / well; I **ſay t'is** very ſcuruy, (Q2, K2v, 22-23).

Combining the single use of "tis" from both Q1 and F1, Hawkins creates a new parallel phrasing of repetition. Similar emendations create local parallelisms in Hawkins's other dramatic publications. In 5.2.19-20 of *Philaster,* Hawkins changes Q2's "by limbs" to "my limbs" creating a rhetorical parallel with the first half of the line:

Bel. May I liue ſpotted for my periury,
And waſte **by limbs** to nothing. (Q2, I3r, 22-23)

Bell. May I liue ſpotted for **my perjury**,
And waſt **my limbs** to nothing. (Q3, I2r, 23).

This change is accepted by Turner in his edition and prompts Andrew Gurr, when noting how "editors variously adopt Q1's or Q3's readings", to determine Q3's "my limbs" equal in integrity with earlier readings (Gurr, *Philaster* 95).[25] In other instances parallel syntax is supported by choosing variants consistent with extended patterns of repetition. In *Othello* 2.1.174-75 Hawkins amends the Q1 copytext with F1's more balanced list of adjective/noun pairs, and in *A King and No King* 1.1.208 Hawkins again employs the ('t) to complete the sequential pairs of verbs and direct objects:

2.1.174-75
...**good**, well / kiſt, an excellent courteſie ; … (Q1, E1r, 34-35)
...**Very good** : well kiſs'd, and excellent Curt- / ſie: … (F1, TLN 949)
...**very good**, / well kiſt, and excellent courteſie; … (Q2, D2r, 35-6)

1.1.208
Arb. And yet I conquer'd him, and could haue **[ ]**(Q2, B1r, 6)
Arb And yet I conquerd him, and could haue **done't** (Q3, B2r, 6)

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[25] Turner, Robert K., ed. *Philaster*. in *Beaumont and Fletcher the Dramatic Works.* Vol. 1. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966. Print.

Hawkins was also aware of the effect of anaphora or "the repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive clauses, sentences, or verses" and regularly identified moments in these plays where that device might be emphasised or introduced (Wales 278). It is highly probable that Hawkins modelled his frequent use of this device on lines like these from *Othello*:

> ...O, now and for euer
> Farewell the tranquile mind, farewell content*:*
> Farewell the plumed troope, and the big warres.
> That makes ambition vertue: O farewell,
> Farewell the neighing Steed, and the ſhri l Trumpe,
> (3.3.350-54; Q1, H2r, 35-37 - H2v, 1-2)

Or from Hawkins's next dramatic publication, *A King and No King*:

> Not to be graſp'd : let 'em be men or beaſts,
> And I will cut 'em from the earth; or townes
> And I will raze 'em, and then blow 'em vp:
> Let 'em be Seas, and I will drink 'em off,
> And yet haue vnquencht fire left in my breaſt:
> Let 'em be any thing but meerely voice. (4.4.121-26; Q2, 15-20)

Continually encountering lines such as these, it is not surprising that Hawkins readily associated anaphora with the language of drama and incorporated it into his editorial practice as in this emendation of Arbaces's speech which appears only a short time after the example from *A King and No King* given above:

> 4.4.152
> *Arb*. No more,
> Ile credit thee, **I know thou** canſt not lye,
> **Thou** art all truth. (Q2, I4r,11-13)
> *Arb*. No more,
> Ile credit thee, **thou** canſt not lye,
> **Thou** are all trutheth. (Q3, K1r, 11-13)

The variant introduces parallels in the beginnings of the two phrases "thou canſt not lye, Thou are all trutheth" that are similar to Beaumont and Fletcher's repetitions of "And I will" and "Let 'em" shown above.[26] On its own, omission of a short phrase like "I know" might be read as a compositorial eye skip in Q2. However, if considered in

[26] See also *A King and No King* 1.1.368.

light of the collective interest in repetition and parallel observed throughout the textual intervention in these plays, what at first appears an omission becomes an effective restructuring meant to align the language with a recognised characteristic of style. For this reason, these sorts of variants can be read as collectively contributing to the rhetorical style of their plays. In addition, by drawing from rhetorical and linguistic traits of the plays he published, Hawkins demonstrates an awareness of a playwright's own style, which in turn influences his own work as an annotating editor. By adopting characteristics of the dominant authorial voice into his own intervention Hawkins expands his textual authority to include both writer and stationer skills. In this way, Hawkins is reminiscent of Henry Chettle whose textual agency contained elements of both writer and stationer skills.

The collection of textual variants from *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy, Othello,* and *A King and No King* discussed in this section have revealed stylistic similarities across several categories of textual intervention which strongly suggests that the copytexts for these quartos were annotated by the same agent. Considered alongside Hawkins's active engagement with readers and playtexts in the paratexts of his quartos, particularly in quoting character traits from dialogue in his revised *dramatis personae*, this cumulative evidence supports this chapter's assertion that Richard Hawkins was the annotating reader/editor of all four quartos, including the conflated Q2 *Othello.*

As a profile of editorial practice, Hawkins's substantive emendations not only verify the publisher's title page claims of producing "revised and refined" quartos; this record of active textual intervention also reveals a publisher who was not just a corrector, but an active reader of playtexts. Key to Hawkins's textual engagement was an interest in perfecting the play as a reading text. To achieve this, Hawkins combined his reader and stationer sensibilities with a knowledge of the fictive and linguistic world of each play. In this way, Hawkins's stationer intervention is also a skilful and conscientious collaboration with the playwright inherent in each dramatic text and is strikingly similar to Henry Chettle and Nicholas Okes's approaches to engaging with commercial drama. At the same time, Hawkins also shares the publishing sensibilities and vision of John Danter who fashioned his texts with particular readers in mind. Over the course of this chapter, my research has identified distinct categories of non-authorial textual intervention used by a publishing agent including a preference for *lectio difficilior,* attention to reader experience, consideration of poetics focused on regulating iambic meter, and an interest in the rhetorical effect of parallel phrasing. This profile of publisher intervention challenges accepted understandings of non-playwright authority

by showing publishers engaged more directly with the creative details of a playwright's work. As such, Richard Hawkins demonstrates how early modern publishers regularly engaged with dramatic publications through a variety of textual interventions which worked in co-operation with playwright agency during the publication process.

Part 3

3.8 Hawkins and Q2 *Othello*

In addition to its shared textual intervention with the other quartos in his repertoire, Hawkins's 1630 publication of *Othello* offers particular evidence of textual collaboration between Shakespeare and his stationer. Richard Hawkins's right to publish "*ORTHELLO the more of Venice"* was recorded in the *Stationers' Register* on 1 March 1628 (Arber IV, 194). Hawkins acquired the play from the publisher Thomas Walkley along with his rights to *A King and No King* and *Philaster*. While Hawkins published his first edition of *Philaster* (Q3) that same year, it was nearly two years before *Othello* would appear in his Chancery Lane bookstall. Part of this delay was no doubt related to Q2's unusual composition. The longest of the three *Othello* texts (160 lines longer than Q1) containing both "F only" and "Q only" passages, Hawkins's edition is a remarkable example of early modern conflation. Moreover, it is not only the first fully conflated text of *Othello* but also the first consistently conflated edition of any Shakespeare play.[27] Despite its unique status amongst editions of Shakespeare in print, Hawkins's quarto has received only peripheral interest from Shakespearean bibliographers and trepidation from editors on account of the uncertainty surrounding the origins and subsequent authority of the quarto's copytext. For the entire nineteenth and most of the twentieth century, critics and editors believed Q2 to be a reprint of Q1 supplemented with additions from an "independent manuscript" (Hinman, "Copy" 373). With theory turning to quartos as a means to recover lost authorial drafts, the "independent manuscript theory" offered new sources for authorised readings. This approach was potentially "game-changing" for *Othello* editors. If the manuscript were found to be "authorised" (that is "authorial", that is "Shakespearean") it would, as Charlton Hinman implies, ease the conscience of *Othello* editors "who have been willing without explanation, to deny any textual authority whatever to Q2 [and] yet have invariably

[27] The "first" partial conflation of a Shakespeare play is the Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* (1623) (Berger "Second Quarto" 44). See also Brian Gibbons Arden 3 edition (2, 24) and G. Blakemore Evans New Cambridge Othello (212).

(and at times altogether unnecessarily) adopted some of its readings" ("Copy" 373). It is little wonder then that this theory, with its optimistic potential for a direct Shakespearean connection, persisted relatively uncontested until the mid-twentieth century.[28] It was not until Hinman's own 1948 essay, "The 'Copy' for the Second Quarto of *Othello* (1630)", that the independent manuscript theory was definitively refuted. Through a study of typographical characteristics and variant origins for the most frequently accepted Q2 readings, Hinman confirmed that the main copytext was a copy of Q1 and demonstrated through a number of shared characteristics in the remaining additions and emendations that "not one of them can reasonably be taken to suggest any other source than F itself" (385).[29] Ironically, dispelling the ambiguity surrounding the Q2 copytext did nothing to increase the authority or textual value of Q2 in the eyes of scholars and editors. In fact, by replacing the manuscript with another printed copy, Hinman actually eliminated what scholars at the time deemed the only determinate for textual authority: a possible direct link to a playwrights' foul papers. As such, Hinman brought to light the innovation and ingenuity that went into creating the Q2 only to cast it back into relative obscurity with his condemnation that it had "no real textual authority" ("Copy" 389). It was not until several decades later when revised definitions of authorship readjusted the parameters of textual authority that the agency revealed by Hinman's study was more seriously reconsidered.

Q2 was essentially given a new lease on life with the rise of the "theory of revision" in the 1980s and 90s. Revision theory was a watershed moment in Shakespeare studies in which editorial practice and critical theory attempted to calibrate the presentation of texts to a reanalysis of the data collected by New Bibliographers. At the centre of the theory of revision, also described as "two-text theory", was the belief that early modern playwrights, particularly Shakespeare, revised their playtexts and "not only created additions for dramatic clarification or imaginative amplification but [were] also enticed into changes in words and phrases which appeared to him at the time as improvements to his first thoughts" (Sanders, *Othello* 216). For textual criticism of *Othello*, the repackaging of Shakespeare as a reviser of his plays meant that Q1 and F1

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[28] Nineteenth century editors such as Clark and Wright (*The Works of William Shakespeare*,1866, 2nd ed., Vol. 7(1892) xiii; Evans (Praetorius facsimile (1885), Furness ("New Variorum" Shakespeare Vol. 6 (1886), 343, confidently supported the independent manuscript theory. The rigors of New Bibliographical approach caused Greg ("Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare", 1928, 180); *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (1942), 111) and Chambers (*William Shakespeare* Vol. 1(1930), 461, and M.R. Ridley (*Othello, "*The New Temple Shakespeare" (1935), xv) to acknowledge the theory but with more reserve regarding the likelihood of Shakespearean authority.

[29] Hinman identifies and uses the variants in his research to argue against the independent manuscript theory. Hinman also notes that the copy of Q1 contained an uncorrected "I" signature ("Copy" 383).

were no longer strictly right or wrong but, as potential first and second thoughts, important evidence of Shakespeare's own creative choices. In light of the two text theory, Q2 re-emerged on the periphery of editorial interest. While in earlier studies critics such as M.R. Ridley would admire Q2 as "in its way, one of the most interesting of Shakespearean texts, because it is clearly the result ... of editorial work which we can check, as we cannot with F1 because we have the same material before us as the editor had", scholars utilising revision theory went further by translating this information into editorial support of contested *Othello* readings (Ridley 231). It was in the context of this new relationship between choice and textual authority that Thomas Berger revisited Hinman's findings. His 1991 essay, "The Second Quarto of *Othello* and the Question of 'Textual Authority'", proposed that if both quarto and folio texts reflected versions of Shakespeare's play then, as a record of hundreds of choices made between these equally "Shakespearean" variants, Q2 merited closer attention because the "proximity of that editor in 1630 to Shakespeare's language is neither aesthetically questionable nor debatable" ("Second Quarto" 31). Reconsidering Q2 variants as editorial choices, Berger repositioned the quarto as providing additional insight into particular variations between Q1 and F1. From his pool of fifteen preferred Q2 readings, Berger also brought to the front an intriguing preliminary assessment of the editorial practice at work in Q2. "The readings", Berger observed, "demonstrate an active alert editorial intelligence at work" that exercised "good judgement and a perfectly fine sense of language" ("Second Quarto" 32). Berger's profile of Q2's editor as a "careful contemporary" serves as an important foundation for the expanded study of Hawkins presented here. However, as his ultimate goal was to argue for Q2's validity as an "expert witness" for various Q1 and F1 readings, Berger does not consider Hawkins's textual intervention as a collaborative contribution to the collective production of Q2. As a result, he does not acknowledge the impact of Hawkins's editorial practice on Q2 itself, the role of the quarto in the stationer's publication output, or its role in the market for commercial drama at the time. As pointed out in previous chapters, exclusively bibliographical studies limit focus to extracting data in support of Shakespearean agency and in the process overlook the collective interaction between agents involved in the production of the textual space. In this instance such playwright-centred focus has subsequently delayed the identification of Hawkins as the Q2 editor and left the larger story of his Caroline *Othello* untold.

This chapter has already shown that when publishing reprints of dramatic texts, Richard Hawkins's editorial practice seeks to integrate the needs and expectations of

readers with the creative parameters suggested in the playtext. By following Hawkins's editorial choices throughout Q2 we can infer that, as in other examples of proofed pages, this process involved Hawkins reading and then recording his changes onto the printed copytext.[30] At the same time, Hawkins developed at least a cursory knowledge of the text and a general impression of what Shakespeare's play sounded like in terms of rhetoric, meter, and decorum. While identifying the copytext of Q2 as a conflation of Q1 and F1 editions, Hinman was also able to discern the physical characteristics of the copytext that were the result of Hawkins's conflation process. Hinman noticed that three particular passages in Q2 misaligned verse by printing in two separate lines what appeared as only one line in F1("Copy" 380). He also noted that each of these passages was more than seven lines and therefore probably too long to be copied legibly into a copy of Q1 like other shorter additions ("Copy" 380). From the combined evidence of broken lines and addition length, Hinman concluded that

> they (and probably all other additions of more than about five lines) had to be written on separate slips of paper and interleaved at their proper places in the copy of Q1 being used-with appropriate marks for indicating where the interleaved material was added ("Copy" 380).

Hinman's description reveals the investment and rigour involved in Hawkins's method, it also illuminates a hitherto unconsidered location of expanded textual agency in Hawkins's editorial practice. The profile of Hawkins's textual intervention constructed in the previous section of this chapter shows the majority of Hawkins's emendations dealing specifically with the fictive world of the play through word choice and poetics. In the additional act of transcribing long F1 passages for the Q2 copytext, Hawkins takes on the extra role of re-presenting not only linguistic, but visual details related to the typographical construction of the text. Hinman notes, for example, how the Q2 transcriptions "were as a rule properly divided into regular verse lines" and in the case of 5.2.184 how Hawkins corrects an F1 error by copying as one line what F1 wrongly prints as two ("Copy" 380). There is additional evidence to suggest Hawkins influenced other typographical elements. Iago's proverbs in 2.1 (129-130, 132-33, 136-37, 141-41, 148-58, 160) all appear in Q1 in roman type. Q2, however, coincides with F1 by presenting the same lines in italic. If the printer or compositor had access to the printed F1 it would be logical to conclude that the compositor copied this element into the new

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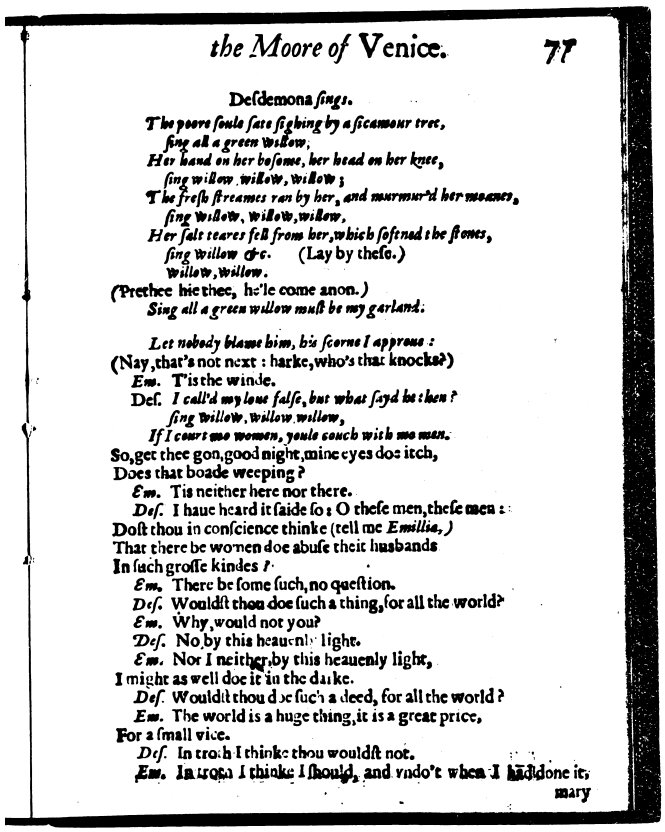
[30] For example, Boston Public Library's copies of Thomas Heywood's *The Iron Age* (STC 133340, 1632) and Beaumont and Fletcher's *Thierry and Theodoret* (STC 11074, 1621). Also the Huntington Library's copy of Q1 *Othello* (STC 22305, 1622).

text. However, as Hinman points out, the compositors had only the marked and supplemented Q1 to refer to, and as a result, would have not seen the typography of the proverbs in F1. Moreover, Hinman believed that Mathewes and his compositors' practice tended more towards following their copy "not wisely, but too well", making such typographical improvisation uncharacteristic of their work ("Copy" 380). Knowing Hawkins's predisposition for refining the text and the more restricted approach of Mathewes's printing house, it most likely that Hawkins as annotator and probable creator of the copytext was the impetus for this typographical flourish.

Similar circumstances may account for the typographical representation of Desdemona's song in 4.3. A twenty-two line addition, this F1 only section was no doubt one of the passages copied out of F1 and interleaved in the pages of Hawkins's annotated Q1. The copying of F1's use of italics here once again suggests that the detail was transferred from F1 to Q2 by the person who saw the F1 text. Alternating roman and italic typefaces at the end of the song to differentiate between Desdemona singing and when she stops to address Emilia are correctly placed throughout the entire section, suggesting that the copying agent was attentive enough to recognise the lines as song which intermingled with dialogue towards the end. The annotator who determined the location of the italics in this section had a good enough sense of the action of this scene to notice and consistently denote the change in Desdemona's lines between song and speech that is indicative of a careful reader. Moreover, the presence of unnecessary white space between the last line of the F1 addition and the first Q1 line (K4r, 12-13) is symptomatic of how literally the compositor set the details of what had to be an intensively marked copytext. (See Figure 3.3) It is unlikely that the same compositor who would introduce a break between Desdemona's related lines "*Sing all a green willow muſt be my garland: / Let nobody blame him, his ſcorne I approue*:" because it was the end of the addition was reading the text closely enough to follow the changes from song to spoken word in order to introduce a new typographical scheme. However, these variants do suggest the kind of details an annotating reader like Hawkins could be aware of and might incorporate into his text if he had previous knowledge of such a typographical flourish. Hawkins's well-known adjustment in Desdemona's song of "*ſinging*" to "*ſighing*"and his addition of the stage direction "Deſdemona *ſings.*" show the stationer already giving his editorial attention to the nuances of this section (F1, TLN 3011; Q2, K4r, 2,1). Hawkins therefore becomes the most likely agent behind the appearance of F1's italic in the Q2 text. As a result of the intensity of his engagement with the Q2

copytext, Hawkins is able to extend his textual agency to include typographical practices typically associated with printer agents. Reminiscent of Nicholas Okes's ability to identify and incorporate textual elements from other publications into his own work, Hawkins expands his own publication practice by learning from other printing house agents. Also like Okes, this transfer of skills is found at moments of the most complex collective agency and produces some of the most effective moments of typographical symmetry.



the Moore of Venice. 77

Deſdemona *ſings.*

The poore ſoule ſate ſighing by a ſicamour tree,
ſing all a green willow,
Her hand on her boſome, her head on her knee,
ſing willow, willow, willow;
The freſh ſtreames ran by her, and murmur'd her mones,
ſing willow, willow, willow,
Her ſalt teares fell from her, which ſoftned the ſtones,
ſing willow &c. (Lay by theſe.)
willow, willow.
(Prethee hie thee, he'le come anon.)
Sing all a green willow muſt be my garland.

Let nobody blame him, his ſcorne I approue:
(Nay, that's not next: harke, who's that knocks?)
Em. 'Tis the winde.
Deſ. *I call'd my loue falſe, but what ſayd he then?*
ſing willow, willow, willow,
If I court mo women, youle couch with mo men.
So, get thee gon, good night, mine eyes doe itch,
Does that boade weeping?
Em. 'Tis neither here nor there.
Deſ. I haue heard it ſaide ſo: O theſe men, theſe men:
Doſt thou in conſcience thinke (tell me *Emillia,*)
That there be women doe abuſe their husbands
In ſuch groſſe kindes?
Em. There be ſome ſuch, no queſtion.
Deſ. Wouldſt thou doe ſuch a thing, for all the world?
Em. Why, would not you?
Deſ. No, by this heauenly light.
Em. Nor I neither, by this heauenly light,
I might as well doe it in the darke.
Deſ. Wouldſt thou doe ſuch a deed, for all the world?
Em. The world is a huge thing, it is a great price,
For a ſmall vice.
Deſ. In troth I thinke thou wouldſt not.
Em. In troth I thinke I ſhould, and vndo't when I had done it,
mary

Figure 3.3 Desdemona's song in Q2 *Othello* (K4r).

Hinman's study also drew attention to the range of Hawkins's editorial project, pointing out that conflation was not restricted to long additions like those mentioned above, but "appear[ed] *passim* throughout the play and range[ed] in extent from scores of single words to phrases to more than thirty passages of anywhere from one to twenty-two lines" ("Copy" 377). In this way, Q2 variants collectively highlight an editorial process in which Hawkins was required to continuously read, compare, and analyse the effectiveness of Q1 and F1 readings. The range in the size of the variants resulting from his conflation suggests analysis and critical consideration of large parts of the text as well as scrutiny of single words and short phrases that was already a regular part of

Hawkins's editorial practice. In this way, the entire method involved the intake of detail through a cyclical process of exposure that, as the following examples demonstrate, allowed for more sustained critical analysis and synthesis of thematic and literary elements from the play into the Q2 copytext. In other words, the very act of conflating gave Hawkins extra insights into *Othello* that resulted in a textual intervention engaged with details and themes in the play at a level of comprehension unique to this quarto.

This chapter has already discussed how Hawkins's additions and emendations to the *dramatis personae* in *Philaster* and *A King and No King* emphasised understanding of characters as an important contribution to the experience of reading a play. Hawkins's conflation of *Othello* allowed him to extend this focus on character beyond the threshold of the paratext into the playtext itself. As in the earlier discussion of Hawkins's editorial practice, study of these variants as a collective project reveals identifiable approaches to textual intervention. For instance, one group of variants shows Hawkins drawing vocabulary from elsewhere in the play to support his editorial choices. For example, Q1 and F1 offer two adjectives for the following line spoken by Cassio at 2.3.76:

> Is your *Engliſh* man ſo **expert** in his drinking? (Q1, E4r, 24)
> Is your Engliſhman ſo **exquiſite** in his drin- / king? (F1, TLN 1192-93)

Hawkins's decision to use F1's "exquiſite" in his copytext may be another instance of his preference for *lectio difficilior*. His choice was perhaps further substantiated by an additional line spoken by Cassio approximately twenty lines later: "Why, this is a more exquiſite Song then the o-/ther" (2.3.76; F1 TLN 1210-11). Hawkins may have noticed that both Q1 and F1 use "exquisite" in this line and identified the repetition as a possible character trait of the drunken Cassio to describe everything as "exquisite" (Q1, E4v, 1).[31] In this way, Hawkins's intervention worked in co-operation with Shakespeare's text to resolve the variant. In return this decision contributed to a consistency in Cassio's lines that emphasised an existing characteristic. Similar circumstances may have influenced his rejection of the Q1 and F1 versions of Othello's accusation of Iago at 5.2.233:

> *Oth.* But what ſerues for the thunder? pretious villaine. (Q1, M4v, 7)
> *Oth.* But what serues for the Thunder? / **Precious** Villiane. (F1, TLN 3530-31)
> *Oth.* But what ſerues for the thunder? **pernitious** villaine. (Q2, M2r, 33)

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[31] An additional example of Hawkins preference for context language may be found at *Othello* 2.3.258 and is included in the appendix.

Considered alone, this addition looks like an instance where Hawkins misunderstood a reading accepted by the transmitting agents of both Q1 and F1and drew on his own knowledge to introduce a completely new variant. However, given Hawkins's demonstrated interest in retaining more difficult readings, the idea that he would remove "Precious", a term that Honigmann describes as an "intensive" synonym for "egregious", or that he would miss what Ridley describes as an "colloquial" intensifier, contradicts the editorial profile presented in this chapter (Honigmann, *Othello* 322nt; Ridley 190). This inconsistency is resolved by recognising that a possible source for the variant can again be found in the playtext. "Pernitious" is first used in 5.2 when Emilia declares that if Iago's slander is the cause of Desdemona's murder "may his pernitious foule / Rot halfe a graine a day" (5.2.151; Q1 M3r, 37- M3v, 1). In addition, about one hundred lines after the "precious"/"pernitious" variant, Othello coming to terms with the reality of Iago's deception, exclaims: "O thou pernitious Caitiffe" (5.2.322; F1, TLN 3626).[32] The occurrence of "pernitious" at both of these points in Q1 and F1 suggests that Hawkins made a context-based editorial decision. Hawkins, it appears, had no objection to the word when he encountered it in Emilia's line and when confronted with what he felt to be the unsatisfying use of "precious" at 5.2.233 may have remembered back to Emilia's earlier description. If Emilia's line was already too distant a memory then it may be that when presented with Othello's second outburst ("O thou pernitious Caitiffe" 5.2.322) in which this alternative, equally authoritative word is used in an identical context, Hawkins actually went back to emend the line with a word drawn from Shakespeare's own lexicon.[33] Thus, this variant represents an editorial adjustment to the text which is initiated by personal aesthetics but works to rectify the issue by utilising pre-existent descriptions of Iago. In this way, Hawkins's close contact with the text demonstrates what Berger describes as the Q2 editor's "attendance to authorial practice" as a means to clarify and refine existing linguistic traits of characters ("Second Quarto" 43). Such co-operative textual intervention would only be possible through an extended and attentive reading of the scene.

Critical analysis of the text more locally also enabled him to process subtle details and subtexts through his editorial interest in virtual performance. At 3.3.109-10 Othello stands on the verge of acknowledging Iago's inferences regarding Desdemona

---

[32] "O the pernitious caitiff" (Q1, Q2).

[33] An additional example occurs in *Othello* with the use of "interim" at 1.3.260 and 5.2.314-15 and also in *The Maid's Tragedy* at 2.2.81.

and Cassio's suspected infidelities. Reluctant to verbalise his wife's supposed transgression himself, Othello interrupts the momentum of the stichomythia that is leading to his revelation by stopping Iago and attempting to elicit a direct response from him.

> *Oth.* Thinke, my Lord? **By heauen he ecchoes** me.
> As if there were ſome monſter in **his** thought: (Q1, G2v, 34-35)
>
> *Oth.* Thinke, my Lord? **Alas, thou ecchos't** me ;
> As if there were ſome Monſter in **thy** thought (F1, TLN 1713-14)
>
> *Oth.* Thinke, my Lord? **why doſt thou ecchoe** me,
> As if there were ſome monſter in **thy** thought, (Q2, F3v, 27-28)

The Q1 reading, which presents Othello's interjection in an abstracted third person "he ecchoes me", is rejected by Hawkins in favour of F1's more direct "thou ecchos't me".[34] The unique addition of Q2's "why doſt" then intensifies the action of this phrase by converting the passive tone of F1's observational "Alas, thou ecchos't me" into a confrontational question. In this way, Q2 presents a more assertive Othello whose language is grounded in direct interaction with Iago. A reason for Hawkins's intervention at this point may be found in his repeated interest in the impact of commercial drama as reading texts. While Q1's "By heauen he ecchoes me" suggests an aside which may be articulated through modulated tone and gesture in performance, Q2's representation of the same line as a question caters to the internal virtual performance of readers. That this aside was less prominent during reading and, as a result, could be the kind of element that a reader-aware agent might decide to adjust is indicated in a reader's annotation to the Huntington Library copy of Q1 *Othello* reproduced in Michael J. B. Allen and Kenneth Muir's *Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto.* A reader of this particular copy of the quarto adds the note "A / sid / to him / selfe" in the margin at E1r, 29-32, expressing a similar difficultly in assimilating this performance element into reader experience. A related emendation at 4.1.184 also addresses the issue of what Othello will or will not speak:

> *Oth.* Hang her, I doe **but** ſay what ſhe is *:* ... (Q1, K1v, 9)
> *Othe.* Hang her, I do **but** ſay what ſhe is: … (F1, TLN 2572)
> *Oth.* Hang her, I doe **not** ſay what ſhe is: ... (Q2, I2v, 4)

---

[34] A similar example is found in a *King and No King* 1.1.309.

Taken in the context of this speech alone, the Q1 and F1 reading appears to confirm the description of Desdemona which follows:

> ...So delicate with her / needle, an admirable muſitian ;
> O ſhe will ſing the ſauageneſſe out / of a Beare; of ſo hye
> and plenteons wit and inuention. (Q2, I2v, 4-6)

However, if considered as part of Othello's larger arc in this scene, Q2's "not" provides an important link between the complimentary description given above and the profoundly different tone of his previous speech:

> *Oth.* And let her rot and periſh, and be damb'd to night, for ſhee / ſhall not liue: … O the world has not a ſweeter creature, ſhe might lie by an / Emperours ſide, and command him taskes. (4.1.178-82, Q2, I2r, 37 - I2v, 2)

Although he has already decided that Desdemona must die, Othello reveals that he is still struggling with conflicting images of the faithful, dutiful wife versus Iago's description of a disloyal, corrupt woman. Hawkins's rejecting of "I do **but** ſay what ſhe is" in favour of "I doe **not** ſay what ſhe is" compounds Othello's larger struggle in the scene by adding an additional expression of his inner conflict.

The intensity of the conflation process also alerted Hawkins to another trait in Othello's character. In the examples below, editorial choices sharpen the ego-centric focus of Othello's lines from the use of general ideas to his personal plight.

1.3.261-62

> *Oth.* Your voyces Lords: beſeech you let her will,
> Haue a free way, I therefore beg it not (Q1, C4v, 34-35)
>
> *Othe.* Let her haue your voice.
> **Vouch with me Heauen,** I therefore beg it not (F1, TLN 610-11)
>
> *Oth.* Your voyces Lords : beſeech you let her will
> Haue a free way:
> **Vouch with me heauen**, I therefore beg it not (Q2, C2r, 10-12)

3.3.364

> *Oth.* Villaine, be ſure thou proue my Loue a whore,...
> Or by the worth of **mans** eternall ſoule (Q1, H2v, 10, 12)

Oth. Villaine, be ſure thou proue my Loue a Whore;...
Or by the worth of **mine** eternall Soule, (F1, TLN 2002, 2004)

Oth. Villiane, be ſure thou proue my Loue a whore,…
Or by the worth of **my** eternall ſoule, (Q2, G3r, 36, 38)

In each of these instances, Hawkins favours the version that enables Othello to position himself as the centre of the moment. In both 1.3.261-62 and 3.3.364 Hawkins perhaps thought back to vows like 1.2.31 "My parts Title, and my perfect ſoule" (B1r, 21) in which Othello stresses a personal, spiritual dynamic. While at 1.3.261-62 Othello is content to let Desdemona's "will / Haue a free way" with the local lords, but desires nothing short of divine authorisation for himself. At 3.3.364 Q2 Othello foregoes his place amongst the larger association of mankind to focus on his own soul by emending Q2 with the sentiment of F1's "mine". The most dynamic variant reading to accent Othello's focus on himself takes place in his final speech at 5.2.339-42.

Oth. When you ſhall theſe vnlucky deedes relate,
Speake of **them as they are** ; nothing extenuate,
Nor ſet downe ought in malice, then muſt you ſpeake,
Of one that lou'd not wiſely, but too well *:*
(Q1, N2r, 2-5)

Oth. When you ſhall theſe vnluckie deeds relate,
Speak of **me, as I am**. Nothing extenuate,
Nor ſet downe ought in malice.
Then muſt you ſpeake,
Of one that lou'd not wiſely, but too well :
(F1, TLN 3651-55)

Oth. When you ſhall theſe vnlucky deeds relate,
Speake of **me as I am** ; nothing extenuate,
Nor ſet downe ought in malice : then you muſt ſpeake,
Of one that lou'd not wiſely, but too well :
(Q2, M3v, 37 - M4r,1)[35]

F1's reading "Speake of me, as I am" dramatically re-positions Othello as the singular figure in the play despite the fact that there are worse villians (Iago) and more tragic victims (Desdemona) readily available. The key to this change and the other two variants above, may lie again in Hawkins's familiarity with the variant in the context of the rest of Othello's speech. Just two lines later Othello implores Lodovico, Gratiano, and Cassio to "ſpeake, / Of one that lou'd not wiſely, but too well". Othello's final insistence that the tale is ultimately a story of "one" is, as these examples demonstrate, echoed

[35] For another example see 5.2.63 Q1 "thy heart" verses F1 & Q2 "my heart" for "my heart: O perjured woman" described by McMillan as a "startling difference, easily preferred" (139) and can be found in the appendix.

repeatedly in Hawkins's editorial choices. This thematic consistency across a collection of Q2 variants suggests that this was a critical interpretation that Hawkins drew from his reading of the text and subsequently incorporated into his conflation.

Similarly, Hawkins's attention to several of Iago's lines also suggests annotation based on recognition of discernible character traits.

5.1.63

Ia. Kill **him** i'the dark? where be thoſe bloody theeues?
(Q1, L4r, 16)

Iago. Kill **men** i'th' darke? / Where be theſe bloody Theeues?
(F1, TLN 3161-62)

Iag. Kill **men** i'the darke? where be thoſe bloody theeues?
(Q2, L1v,32)

Hawkins's decision to follow F1 by preferring "Kill men" over Q1's "Kill him" retains Iago's moment of pretend disbelief as he stands over the mortally wounded Roderigo. Moreover, in favouring F1's "Kill men" over Q1's "Kill him" which is both grammatically correct and more accurately describes the scene, Hawkins recognises that F1's use of "men" is part of Iago's pretending to be an innocent witness, rather than accomplice, to this crime. Hawkins's decision to include the F1 reading in his Q1 copytext suggests that he was aware of Iago's ever-changing personas in this play and realised that in this instance, Iago was purposely pretending that he didn't recognise Roderigo as part of his distancing of himself from the action. In an earlier example, Hawkins captures another moment of Iago's chameleon-like character:

2.1.168-70

Iag. ...**as** little a / webbe as this **will enſnare** as great a Flee as *Caſſio.* …I will catch you in your owne courteſies.
(Q1, E1r, 29-31)

Iago. ...**With as** little a web as this, **will I enſnare** as great / a Fly as *Caſſio.* …I will giue thee / in thine owne Courtſhip.
(F1, TLN 943-45)

Iag. ...**with as** / little a webbe as this, **will I enſnare** as great a Flie as *Caſsio.* / …I will catch you in your own courtſhip:
(Q2, D2r, 30-32)[36]

The choice of following F1's more specific "With as little web as this will I ensnare" over Q1's more general observation that "As little a web as this will ensnare" enhances the energy of Iago's aside by giving him full possession of his plan through the use of F1's

[36] This example is listed in the Appendix as two separate entries: 2.1.168-69 and 2.1.169-70.

"I". In a similar way, Hawkins's change at 4.1.161 from Iago asking Cassio "Will you ſup there?" in Q1 (K1r, 27) and F1 (TLN 2549) to him telling him "You ſup there." (Q2, I2r, 23)typifies Iago's manipulation of characters and events throughout the play. Recognising Iago's varying modes of address and presentation throughout *Othello* and selecting the most relevent option for this particular moment epitomises Hawkins's comprehensive reading of Shakespeare's play. With only one group of similarly suggestive emendations throughout the rest of Hawkins's dramatic repertoire occurring in *Philaster,* these *Othello* variants can be seen as a result of the deeper reading characteristic of the conflation process.[37]

Conflation also supported revision along other recognised thematic lines. Thomas Berger first noted how the Q2 editor's decision at 1.3.280 (C2r, 31) to have the Duke command Othello to meet at "nine i'th' morning" (F1, TLN 630) rather than "ten i'the morning" (Q1, D1r, 18) "further stress[ed] the urgency of the Venetian cause" ("Second Quarto" 35).[38] This sense of haste and lack of time is an undercurrent of the play that comes to a head as Desdemona pleads for her life:

Des. Kill me to morrow, let me liue to night.
Oth. Nay, an you ſtriue.
Des. But halfe an houre.
Oth. Being don, there is no pauſe.
Des. But while I ſay one prayer. *he ſtifles her.*
Oth. Tis to late. Emillia *calles within.* (Q2, L4r, 9-14)

Hawkins's emendations suggest that he too was aware of this element. At 1.2.47 Hawkins's change of Othello's Q1 response from "Ile ſpend a word here" (B4v, 1) to F1's "I will **but** ſpend a word here" (TLN 258) takes into account the hasty tone of Cassio's report that Othello has "bin hotly cald for" and the Duke "requires your haſt, poſt-haſt appearance, / Euen on the inſtant" (Q2, B1r, 35, 27-28). This pervading sense of urgency may also explain his choice for Iago's lines at 4.2.206-8:

Iag. Why now I ſee there's mettle in thee, and euen from this / **time** doe build on thee, a better opinion then euer before, (Q1, L1v, 27-28)

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[37] See *Philaster* 2.1.98, 4.4.15, and 4.4.162.

[38] Edwin Booth also took notice of this detail in the New Variorum (pg 78), suggesting a meta-theatrical reference, nine in the morning "being the hour at which the King's Men would rehearse" (qtd. in Berger "Second Quarto" 45).

Iago. Why, now I ſee there's mettle in thee: and / euen from this **inſtant** do build on thee a better o- / pinion then euer before: (F1, TLN 2921-23)

Iag. Why now I ſee there's mettle in thee, and euen from this / **inſtant,** doe build on thee a better opinion then euer before; (Q2, K2v, 32-3)

Preferring F1's more quantitative variant, Hawkins reinforces the building momentum that is leading up to the realisation of Iago's scheming. This change also supports Hawkins's interest in heightening the virtual performance. Specifying for the reader an instantaneous change of opinion highlights an underlying disingenuousness in Iago's assertion that, in performance, might have been articulated by a gesture or expression of an actor. In this way, this change magnifies a moment in Iago's character development that might have been lost in the play's transmission into print.

A final thematic element that Hawkins identified while conflating *Othello* was the play's numerous expressions of overwhelming emotion and the various ways in which this was textually presented. Perhaps in keeping with his interest in maintaining the rhetorical decorum of *Othello* as a tragedy, Hawkins accepts the multitude of "O" interjections, twenty-one on the first three pages of Act five alone, many of which introduce vocative exclamations such as "O braue *Iago*", "O murderous ſlaue, O villaine", and "O notable ſtrumpet" (L1r, 33; L1v, 30; L2r, 10). However, Hawkins is less accepting of other emotional outbursts delivered through repetitions of single words or short exclamations.

3.3.454

O blood, ***Iago***, blood. (Q1, H3v, 26)
O blood, **blood**, blood. (F1, TLN 2101)
O Blood ***Iago***, blood. (Q2, G4v, 20)

4.1.192-3

...*Iago*, the pitty. (Q1, K1v, 16)
...*Iago*, **O *Iago*,** the pity **of it,** / ***Iago.*** (F1, TLN 2581-82)
...*Iago*, **oh** the pitty. (Q2, I2v, 11)

While 3.3.454 is a straightforward example of Hawkins following Q1, it is worth noting that the example from 4.1 shows Hawkins conflating to integrate the two texts while reducing what he apparently saw as unnecessary repetitions. By incorporating F1's "O" into Q1's "*Iago*, the pitty", Hawkins conflates his two options while simultaneously streamlining the text by forgoing the repetitions. In this way, Hawkins again combines individual aesthetic with emendations that maintain the meaning of the text. One

notable exception to Hawkins's preference for Q1's emotional tone, occurs at 5.2.85 where Hawkins rejects Desdemona's Q1 line "O Lord, Lord, Lord." by omitting the line altogether putting him in agreement with the Folio and the occasional modern editor (Q1, M2r, 36; Q2 L4r,14-5).[39]

While we may never know exactly why Hawkins eliminated these repetitions from his quarto, the most logical reason, in terms of his larger editorial project, is that he felt that the dynamic of these repetitions, like other examples above, were more fully realised in live performance. Modern readers and editors, trained by temporal distance to be more accepting of recreating in their minds what they would never see on an early modern stage, may in this case be more open to visualising such performative nuances. For example, H. Granville-Barker justifies his retention of Desdemona's "O Lord, Lord, Lord" line discussed above in terms of the reader's ability to recreate intense dramatic performance: "Imagine it: Desdemona's agonized cry to God, and as the sharp sound of it is slowly stifled, Emilia's voice at the door rising through it" (214). It is worth noting however, that while editors use this line claiming the imagined scene is accessible to readers, they cannot resist including Granville-Barker's accompanying description in their glosses.[40] In this light, Hawkins's changes do not necessarily discount the ability of early modern readers to imagine dynamic drama. Rather, like his modern editorial counterparts, he realised that with a few refinements, the playtext has potential to create a performance in the reader's mind. Without modern conventions of footnotes and commentary to explain his editorial decisions, Hawkins's emendations ultimately rely upon the text to perform as an instrument for reading as well as a launching point for imaginative construction of the play. Perhaps for this reason Hawkins's editorial choices in *Othello*, as in his editions of Beaumont and Fletcher discussed earlier, remain rooted in local contexts of the play. In this way, Hawkins's textual intervention, grounded in context and themes of local and global knowledge of the fictive world of the play, is always working in co-operation with Shakespeare's play to create an edition for readers.

Despite editorial theory's ambivalence to silent editorial intervention in modern editions, Hawkins's conflation of Q2 *Othello* stands as an integral case study of intensive stationer interaction with a playwright's work. Tracking the choices between Q1, F1, and his own original additions, Hawkins's editorial practice reveals characteristics specific to his textual engagement with *Othello* including an interest in the sense of haste

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[39] Dyce reproved Collier for including it in his edition referring to the effect as "not a little comic" and "disquietingly vulgar" (Ridley *Othello 182)*

[40] As shown in both Ridley and Honigmann's Arden editions.

that pervades the play and a resistance to Q1 and F1's use of excessive repetition at moments of heightened emotion. As in his publications of *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy,* and *A King and No King,* Hawkins's textual interventions in Q2 *Othello* suggest a particular interest in further embellishing the text's effect as a reading experience. In addition, the more intense relationship between annotator and text is visible as a result of the methodical process of collation and conflation used to create the Q2 copytext. As seen in Hawkins's insightful emendations to Othello and Iago throughout the play, this approach facilitated the subtle refining of language towards established themes and character traits. Hawkins's decision to use both Q1 and F1 to actively ruminate on possible interpretations of the text offers a portrait of stationer interest and care unparalleled in the textual narrative of an early modern Shakespeare quarto to date. As was the case case for Nicholas Okes and Q1 *King Lear,* with no playwright agent active in the publication process, Hawkins's intervention takes on the form of a textual engagement with the details of the playwright's work as presented in the available texts. Such a portrait of textual intervention shows that publishing agents could in fact collaborate with playwrights during publication of their plays into print even if, like Shakespeare, the writer was not physically present during the printing process.

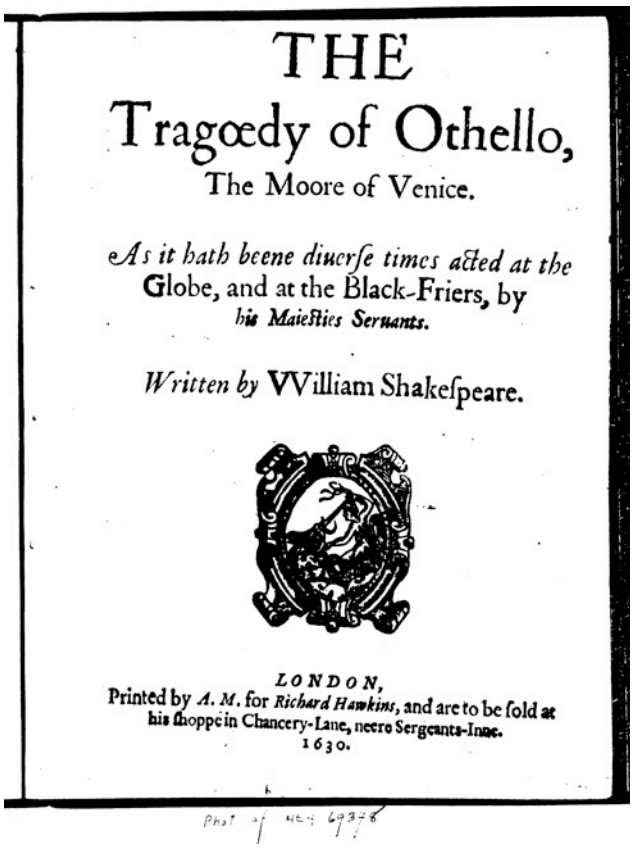
In addition to revealing new dynamics of stationer intervention, this chapter's extended analysis of Hawkins's use of Q1 and F1 in the production of the Q2 copytext offers glimpses into how these two different texts measured up to one early modern reader's impressions of Shakespeare's *Othello*. The examples discussed above show a repeated preference for the more particular details offered in the Folio, suggesting that while Q1 may have been used as a copytext out of convenience, it was the Folio and not the quarto that Hawkins frequently identified as "better" according to his own parameters for preparing Q2 for the press. This evidence may also point to a preference by Hawkins's Caroline readership for the more refined language of the Folio that was perhaps also influenced by a familiarity with F1 in performance.[41] The comprehensive profile of editorial practice in Q2 presented here also supports modern editorial choices of individual Q1 or F1 readings by offering additional contemporary evidence that can further inform scholarly attitudes towards particular variants and towards these two early editions of Shakespeare's play more generally. Overall, the profile of Hawkins's editorial interventions in Q2 challenges accepted understandings of stationer attitudes

[41] Further research into F1 and Q2 connections may suggest that the transmission process which resulted in the F1 text was at least partly motivated by a similar philosophy of refining the text for readers.

to dramatic publication and prompts further reconsideration of Q2 *Othello* as the product of collaboration between playwright and publisher.

3.9 "*A Play and no Play*": Hawkins, Shakespeare and Caroline *Othello*

Like his editions of *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy* and *A King and No King*, Richard Hawkins's 1630 *Othello* contains evidence of its publisher's textual intervention. However, Q2 *Othello* conspicuously lacks the extra paratextual flourishes typical of Hawkins's other dramatic publications. Hawkins's *Othello* contains no other paratext than the simple template title page and no further evidence of Hawkins's agency on that page than the imprint. (See Figure 3.4) In this way, the title page for Q2 *Othello* contradicts Hawkins's typical use of the title page as a place to advertise new features in his editions to prospective readers. When visually compared to the title pages of *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy,* and *A King and No King*, the Q2 title page presents itself as generally bare and primitive, leading one to suspect that one of Berger's "pure and simple" texts lies underneath ("Caroline" 337). However, the rigour of Hawkins's conflation and preparation of the text of Q2 *Othello* considered in the previous sections challenges this perception, indicating a need to look further into the seeming contradiction of what appears to be an intensely constructed copytext and a neglected title page.



THE
Tragœdy of Othello,
The Moore of Venice.

As it hath beene diuerſe times acted at the Globe, and at the Black-Friers, by *his Maieſties Seruants.*

Written by VVilliam Shakeſpeare.

LONDON,
Printed by *A. M.* for *Richard Hawkins*, and are to be ſold at his ſhoppe in Chancery-Lane, neere Sergeants-Inne.
1630.

Figure 3.4 - Title page of Q2 *Othello* (1630).

While the Q2 title page is noticeably simpler than the other plays in Hawkins's dramatic repertoire, textual evidence suggests that it was no less carefully constructed. It is evident from his use of a printed Q1 as the base of his Q2 copytext that Hawkins had a copy of Thomas Walkley's 1622 *Othello* (STC 22305) in his possession. The striking similarities between the Q1 and Q2 title pages suggest that this copy most certainly had a title page. (See Figure 3.5) Beyond changes in the printer's device and the fact that the imprint was updated to include Hawkins's name and Mathewes's initials, it is a series of typographical similarities that really suggest Hawkins's publication strategy. The mimicking of the wording, spacing, font size, and the use of Roman and Italic typefaces exactly as they appear in Q1 looks at first like mere lack of imagination. However, the reproduction of the "œ" ligature in "Tragœdy" and the use of the slanted dash in "Black-Friers" copies the Q1 title page down to details that are little more than typographical flourishes, suggesting that Hawkins did not intend to print a similar title page, but to actually re-present the one from Walkley's first edition.

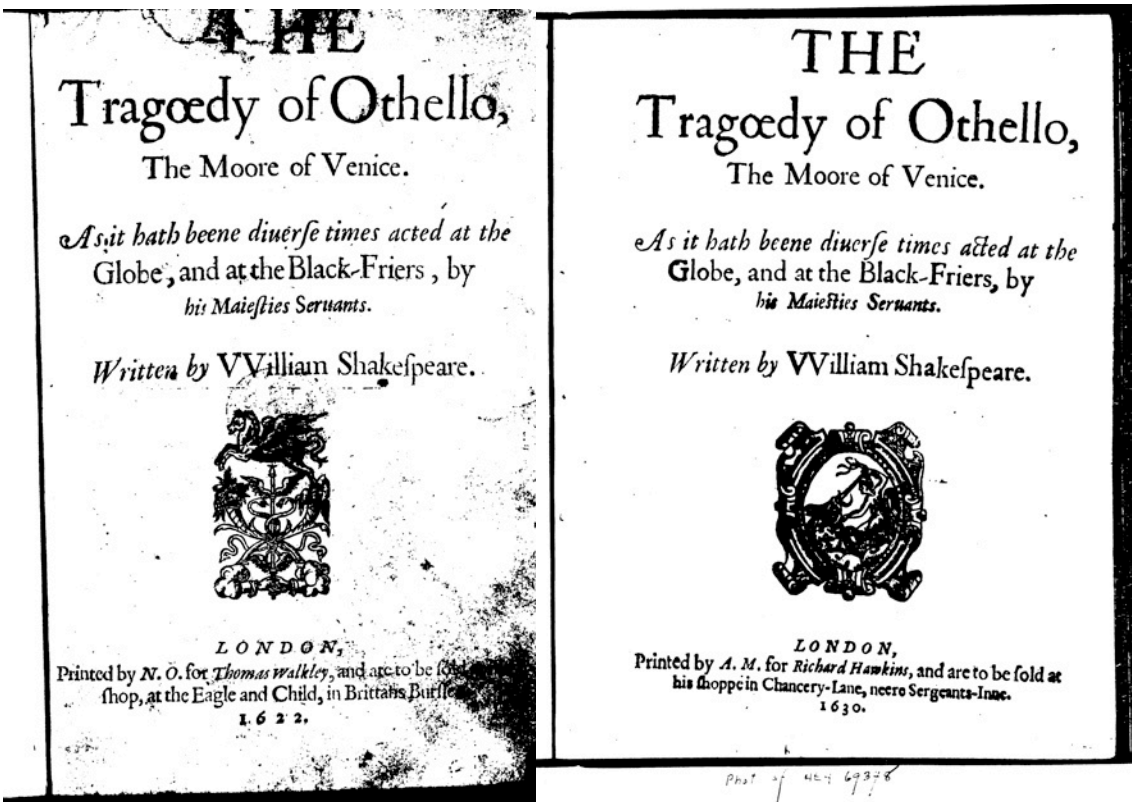

THE
Tragœdy of Othello,
The Moore of Venice.
As it hath beene diuerſe times acted at the Globe, and at the Black-Friers, by his Maieſties Seruants.
Written by VVilliam Shakeſpeare.
LONDON,
Printed by A. M. for Richard Hawkins, and are to be ſold at his ſhoppe in Chancery-Lane, neere Sergeants-Inne.
1630.
Tragœdy of Othello,
The Moore of Venice.
As it hath beene diuerſe times acted at the Globe, and at the Black-Friers, by his Maieſties Seruants.
Written by VVilliam Shakeſpeare.
LONDON,
Printed by N. O. for Thomas Walkley, and are to be ſold at his ſhop, at the Eagle and Child, in Brittans Burſſe.
1622.

Figure 3.5 (L-R) Title pages of Q1 (1622) and Q2 (1630) *Othello*.

Hawkins had already used this style of "ye olde" Elizabethan title page on a Caroline quarto. In 1629 Hawkins published an edition of Christopher Marlowe's poem *Hero and Leander* (STC 17421). As in *Othello,* Hawkins provides, with only minor adjustments, what is essentially a reprint of the 1622 title page including its authorising motto "*Ut Nectar, Ingenium*". (See Figure 3.6) However, for this edition Hawkins also reprints the dedication written by the previous edition's publisher Edward Blount (STC 17420). Hawkins's inclusion of Blount's dedication to Thomas Walshingham, in which the publisher highlights his connection to Marlowe by styling himself as "*Executor to the unhappy / deceaſed Author of this Poem*" (A2r, 17-18), draws attention to the fact that his edition is actually a reprint of a quarto originally authorised years before by a different stationer. Moreover, Blount's claims of a personal relationship with Marlowe not only as an "*Executor*" but in his knowledge of the many kindnesses Walshingham bestowed on the poet "*in / his life time*" connects the preliminaries and the text itself with the years following Marlowe's death and the end of Elizabeth's reign (A2r, 18-19). The sparseness of the title page and the temporal distance between Blount's Elizabethan text and

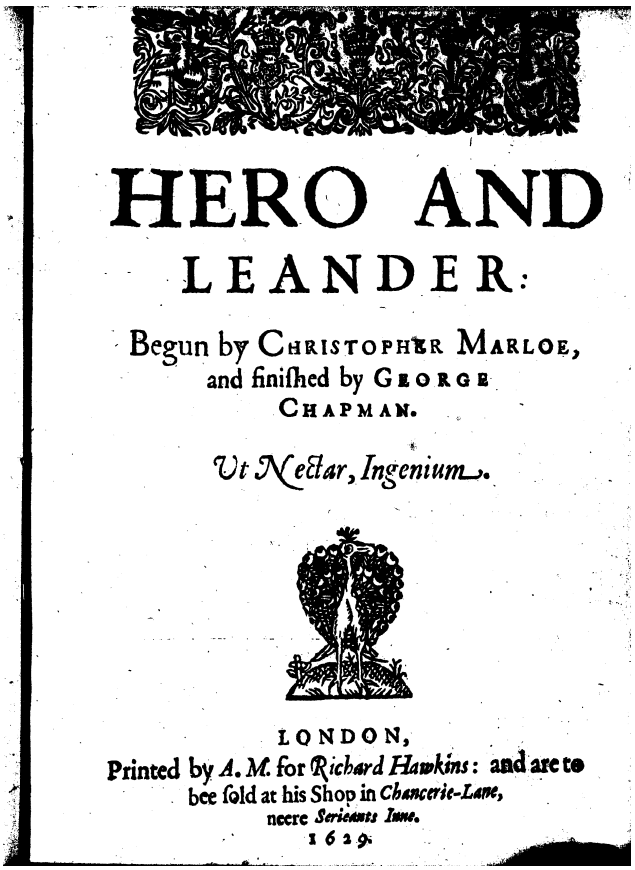

HERO AND
LEANDER:
Begun by CHRISTOPHER MARLOE,
and finiſhed by GEORGE
CHAPMAN.
Ut Nectar, Ingenium.
LONDON,
Printed by *A. M.* for *Richard Hawkins*: and are to
bee ſold at his Shop in *Chancerie-Lane*,
neere *Serieants Inne*.
1629.

Figure 3.6 Title page of *Hero and Leander* (1629).

Hawkins's Caroline reader presented in the republished dedications fulfil Berger's requirements of nostalgia by representing Hawkins's edition as a "stable" or unchanging Elizabethan reprint clearly rooted in a distant past. Having done his own work on the Q2 *Othello* conflation, Berger wants to see the choices of its publisher as intentionally "savvy". However, his instinct that these reprinted title pages reflect more dynamic textual intervention was not fully realised because Berger's work is predicated on the notion that playbooks were neither a significant nor profitable investment for stationers. Evidence is readily available both in Hawkins's larger dramatic repertoire as well as in second plus editions of other Shakespeare texts to indicate that these reprints were not the early modern equivalent of today's photocopies. Despite Farmer, Lesser, and Berger's assertions that Caroline readers were interested in these plays precisely for their temporal distance and stagnant presentation, Hawkins demonstrates ample interest in marketing playtexts on the basis of their "newness" through, among other things, repeated revising and refining. This chapter has also repeatedly shown Hawkins to be offering Elizabethan and Jacobean texts that are modified through contemporary interpretations of language and access, suggesting that contrary to Berger's assertion,

readers and publishers of Caroline Shakespeare were looking for more from their quartos than an undisturbed relic and a "dead" author.

The temporal distance projected by the painstaking reproduction of the Q1 *Othello* title page fulfils Berger's requirements of nostalgia by representing Hawkins's edition as unchanged and rooted in a distant past. Even so, it is impossible to ignore the "new" conflation that lies just beyond this "old" title page. An alternative to this understanding of Caroline nostalgia and a new way to consider Hawkins's publication of Q2 *Othello* may be found in Hawkins's own writing on the subject. The crux of his philosophy of dramatic publication is openly offered in a verse on the title page to his edition of *A King and No King* entitled "The STATIONER to / DRAMATOPHILVS":

> *A Play and no Play, who this Booke ſhall read,*
> *Will iudge, and weepe, as if 'twere done indeed.*

Trying to describe the relationship between the physical text he is selling and the play in performance, Hawkins, much like modern textual critics, is forced to confront the ambiguity of drama as it takes its many forms. His choice to describe his quarto as both "*A Play and no Play*" acknowledges how the parameters of print will transform a memory or conception of the play into a readerly experience. However, his assertion that anyone who reads the book "*Will iudge, and weepe, as if 'twere done indeed*" also suggests that, when read, the play extends its impact further, allowing the reader not only to encounter the text but also to experience a more intense reaction that is comparable to live performance. In this way, Hawkins proposed that some recognisable essence of the play, not implicitly connected to a particular medium, will nevertheless transcend the limitations of the constructed form to impact the reader. This perception is strikingly similar to modern theories of transmission. For example, in her attempts to define and better understand the impact of performed adaptations, Margaret Jane Kidnie appropriates the term "work" to describe this intangible essence as "the conceptual construction, pragmatically known and always located somewhere other than at the site of production" (*Adaptation* 2). Hawkins may not have been interested in the theoretical concerns of textual transmission, but his editorial choices in favour of virtual performance repeatedly illustrate his effort to strengthen the performative potential of his texts. His particular interest in drawing these elements from both Q1 and F1 shows his editorial practice repeatedly acknowledging and looking to this "conceptual construction".

Hawkins's notion that it is the impact or experience of the "work" or play rather than the text itself that is the desired end result for the reader of printed drama, may be the key to understanding a final set of variants that reflect an intriguing editorial practice applied exclusively to his conflation of *Othello.*

2.2.0

Enter a ***Gentleman reading*** *a Proclamation.* (Q1, E3r, 13)
Enter ***Othello's, Herald with*** *a proclamation.* (F1, TLN 1097)

Enter **Othello's *Herauld, reading*** *a Proclamation.* (Q2, D4r, 13)

5.2.0

Enter Othello ***with a light***. (Q1, M1r, 11)
Enter Othello, and ***Deſdemona in her bed***. (F1, TLN 3239)

Enter Othello ***with a light, and*** **Deſdemona *in her bed***.
(Q2, L2v, 28)

In these examples from the opening stage directions for 2.2. and 5.2, rather than choose either Q1 or F1, Hawkins combines the most prominent details from both to create a cumulative stage direction that is the most descriptive of the three. By including highlights from both texts Hawkins not only offers readers the most comprehensive directions of any edition so far, but he retains all the authorised language offered in both texts. In the following conflation of 4.2.172, Hawkins collects the seemingly unrelated details of the "great Meſſengers" and the "meate" and then rearranges them to clarify the F1 reading:

4.2.172
And the **great** Meſſengers of *Venice* ſtay, (Q1, L1r, 32)
The Meſſengers of Venice ſtaies **the meate** (F1, TLN 2884)

The meate, great Meſſengers of *Venice* ſtay ; (Q2, K2v, 1)

Most significant in these variants and the others like them, is not necessarily their success as enhanced readings on a line by line basis, but the recognition that they that do not intend to choose at the exclusion of one version or the other but are conflations that consciously include both variants.[42] As such, although the results do not necessarily mimic the exact wording of a particular version, these 'combined conflations' actually offer cumulative exposure to a fuller range of Shakespearean language that might be

[42] Additional examples are in *Othello*: 4.2.56, 4.3.63, 67, 3.3.122, and 2.1.70 and may lie behind the use of "Germans" at 1.1.112.

recognised by a witness to either Q1 or F1. In this way, Hawkins's conflation attempts to deliver on the promise of his verse, by offering access not to a particular text of *Othello* but to a construction that provides an experience of the "work".

To this end, the seemingly "old" title page combined with Hawkins's "new" text may be seen not as contradicting each other, but as a collective textual performance. Both elements stand as thresholds to the past of Shakespeare's play while representing its new incarnation in the Caroline present. In short, as contributions to the work, they are one more moment where the past is reconstructed by and for the present. As such, the combined effect of Q2 *Othello's* text and paratext urge an adjustment of modern perceptions of nostalgia in the Caroline era. Rather than a fixed text and a playwright observed from a removed distance, Caroline nostalgia seeks an accessible conduit which brings together the past and the present within the process of interacting with and experiencing the "work".

While preserving and collecting the work of Shakespeare's play, the editorial project present in Q2 *Othello* goes further. First, by consciously trying to make it accessible to a contemporary audience. Secondly, by offering an inclusive text through which the reader can identify the work with their own range of experience or expectation. In this light, the Caroline reader's desire is not simply to observe Shakespeare's play across the temporal divide but to engage with the intention of experiencing it "as if 'twere done indeed". In this way, the desired impact is not unlike the living history experience that draws modern audiences to the reconstructed Globe Theatre. As such, Hawkins's Q2 *Othello* not only suggests that Shakespeare was a more current, active and pertinent author to Caroline readers than originally supposed but also, as the central vehicle for reproducing an 'authentic' historical experience, Shakespeare's role in Hawkins's time is not so different from our own.

Hawkins's Q2 *Othello* should also be acknowledged as a significant moment in the larger history of Shakespeare in print. In offering his readers the best of both Q and F together in one text, Hawkins subverted a previous editorial tradition in which quarto and folio editions developed in separate parallel trajectories that preserved the historical differences between the two. Bringing together *all* material recognised as Shakespeare's *Othello,* Hawkins's Q2 presents a text less interested in preserving a particular version of Shakespeare's play than with a comprehensive version containing all textual elements associated with Shakespeare's *Othello*. In this way, Hawkins's approach is not dissimilar to the underlying logic for modern editors of Shakespeare who conflate multiple source texts in their editions. In exchanging historical artefact for conceptual construct,

Hawkins text suggests the rise of a readership not unlike the twenty-first century reader of *Othello* who expects to find all the lines associated with a particular scene or with the play more generally in a modern edition. For the readers of Hawkins's Q2 as for the vast majority of modern readers, Shakespeare's *Othello* is not associated with a particular text, but with an idea. In this way, Hawkins's quarto anticipates the transcendence of Shakespeare from textual/theatrical event to cultural icon.

Chapter Conclusion

The multidimensional range of Richard Hawkins's textual collaborations with his printer, his playwrights, and the readers of his texts is the most complex image of collective agency considered thus far in this dissertation. While his interactions with his printer Augustine Mathewes are less demonstrative of the integrated collaboration of printing house agents seen in previous chapters, his extensive engagement with the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher and of Shakespeare reveal a publishing agent actively involved in the preparation of early modern drama for publication. In the particular case of Hawkins's publication of Q2 *Othello,* the profile of textual intervention constructed in this chapter confirms earlier assessments of Q2's editor being a careful and insightful agent. The variety of annotations found in this quarto also shows that this intervention, a unique product of Hawkins's decision to incorporate elements of both Q1 and F1 into his new edition, involved an unprecedented level of literary and textual analysis that revealed Hawkins to be not only a publisher and annotator, but an observant and thoughtful reader of Shakespeare's play.

In addition, the collaboration in these textual spaces between Hawkins and his readers is also fundamental to the fashioning of these printed quartos. From short, pithy verses to informative *dramatis personae* to annotated texts, Hawkins's publications are carefully constructed to connect with and empower readers of commercial drama. Acknowledging the connection between Hawkins's textual intervention and his anticipated readership as central to Hawkins's approach to dramatic publication supports a textual narrative in which the "old" title page and "new" text of Q2 *Othello* collectively produce a reading experience that combines a Jacobean playtext with the refined sensibilities of Caroline readers. In this way, Hawkins's focus on the effect of virtual performance on the performative capabilities of his play quartos is reminiscent of earlier attempts to present drama as a readable medium seen in the work of Danter and Okes in Chapters One and Two. However, Hawkins's extending of this attention

throughout both his texts and paratexts suggests a more sophisticated awareness of this aspect of publisher agency and its impact on the success of his editions. Amongst the other stationer agents discussed in this dissertation so far, the profile of Hawkins's publication agency indicates that, as the tasks of printers and publishers became more specialised over the first half of the seventeenth century, the agency of publisher / booksellers like Hawkins became more prominent as well. At the same time, understanding Hawkins's Q2 *Othello* as a the product of publisher and playwright collaboration shows that this increase in textual authority does not continue to the exclusion of other agents. Rather, by identifying numerous categories of publisher intervention with dramatic quartos, my research demonstrates that publisher intervention is not only a quantifiable element of printed editions, but it is also recurrent phenomenon in the production of early modern drama in print. Overall, Hawkins's contributions to Q2 *Othello* demonstrate a productive, professional interaction between non-playwright agents and Shakespeare's plays during their transmission into print.

Chapter 4

Publisher Collaboration 2:
Shakespeare and the Fleet Street Syndicate (1630-1632)

In order to illustrate the fluidity and diversity of textual authority in the inclusive model of the textual space advocated by this dissertation, the first three chapters focused on repertoires of playbooks from single pairs of playwright/stationer agents. This final chapter will expand this model further by examining the Shakespearean repertoire of a publishing syndicate. John Smethwick, Richard Meighen, and Richard Hawkins produced a series of Shakespeare plays in quarto between 1630-32. Combined with their roles in the stationer syndicate responsible for the publication of the second Shakespeare Folio in 1632 (STC 22274), these publishers produced a significant portion of the Shakespeare in print available in the Inns of Court area between 1630 and 1632.

4.1 Introduction

The title page for the 1623 folio of Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (hereafter referred to as F1) identifies the book as the work of two stationers: the publisher Edward Blount and the printer Isaac Jaggard. Blount was a well-known publisher who typically produced elite works of poetry including the works of John Lyly. Isaac Jaggard inherited the large, established printing house that would publish the Folio after the death of his father William Jaggard in 1623. The contributions of both stationers to the First Folio have been well documented by Charlton Hinman, Peter Blayney and Anthony James West among others and it is generally agreed that Blount provided the "clout and money" for the project and Jaggard the press, compositors and subsequent proofreader(s) who would see the text through the press (Massai *Rise* 118).[1] A handful of other stationers also had rights to particular Shakespeare titles at the time, and it is generally believed that Blount and Jaggard reached agreements with these other

[1] See Hinman, *The Printing and Proofreading of the First Folio of Shakespeare.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963; Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare.* Washington D.C.: Folger Library Publications, 1991; and West, *The Shakespeare First Folio. The History of the Book, An Account of the First Folio Based on its Sales and Prices, 1623-2000. Oxford University Press, 2001.*

title holders before proceeding.[2] Two of these stationers, John Smethwick and William Aspley, are also mentioned in the Folio's colophon. However, the role of these and other "second-tier" stationers is generally considered as silent and, in some cases, reluctant partners to the dynamic collaboration of Blount and Jaggard.[3] Thus, the imprint "Printed by Iſaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount." stands as both evidence and confirmation that the Folio's publication and subsequent dissemination was the product of the two "named" stationers on the title page.

The model of folio production depicted in the Blount/Jaggard partnership has gone on to serve as the template for studies of the production of the Second Folio for multiple reasons. First, Blount and Jaggard embody the traditional roles of publisher and printer identified by Blayney in "The Publication of Playbooks". Secondly, the careers of the two stationers most readily associated with the Second Folio (henceforth F2), the printer Thomas Cotes and the publisher Robert Allott, share striking similarities in their publishing and printing repertoires with the individual career outputs of Blount and Jaggard. The only printer in the F2 imprint, Thomas Cotes, was apprenticed to William Jaggard in 1597 and worked alongside William's son Isaac as an apprentice in William's printing house until he took his freedom nine years later in 1606. Cotes's name does not appear again in the records of the *Stationers' Register* until 19 June 1627 when Isaac Jaggard's widow Dorothy (Isaac dying between Feb and March 1627) transferred over the business and all copyrights to him and to his brother Richard including "her p*ar*te in Shackspheere playes" (Arber IV, 182). This "inheritance" of Jaggard's house, combined with no title pages or entries in the *Stationers' Register* for any independent printing projects by Cotes, suggests that, after taking his freedom, Cotes may have continued to work alongside Isaac from around the printing of the First Folio in 1622/23 until Isaac's own death in 1627 (Arber II, 222; Murphy 47; Blayney *First Folio* 5; McKerrow "Jaggard(Isaac)"). This time-line temptingly positions Cotes as a journeyman working in the Jaggard printing house during the publication of the First Folio. In addition to his claim to Jaggard's "parte" in Shakespeare's plays, at the time of

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[2] These other stationers included: Arthur Johnson: *The Merry Wives of Windsor;* William Aspley: *Much Ado About Nothing, 2 Henry IV;* John Smethwick: *Love's Labour's Lost, The Taming of the Shrew, Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet;* Matthew Law: *Richard II, 1 Henry IV, Richard III;* Lawrence Hayes: *The Merchant of Venice;* Henry Walley: *Troilus and Cressida;* Nathaniel Butter: *King Lear;* Thomas Walkley: *Othello;* Thomas Pavier: *A Midsummer Night's Dream, Henry V, 2 Henry VI, 3 Henry VI.* Cf. Murphy 43-45. In addition, Sonia Massai has pointed out that the other stationers who had rights to Shakespeare's plays at the time also had a vested interest in Shakespeare in print (*Rise* 170-179).

[3] For example, difficulties negotiating with Henry Walley over the rights to print *Troilus and Cressida* are seen to account for the three different variant printings of the Folio at the beginning of the tragedies. For a concise narrative of the issues and the resulting variants, see Murphy 50-51.

F2's publication Cotes also had access to Thomas Pavier's Shakespeare titles via his brother Richard.[4] Thus, Thomas Cotes was not only the direct printing descendant of the First Folio, he was also the stationer with probably the largest publishing share in the volume. After Cotes, the second largest share of titles belonged to the publisher Robert Allott. Allott first ventured into Shakespeare publication when he acquired the rights to all sixteen of Edward Blount's Shakespeare titles from Blount himself in 16 November, 1630 (Arber VI, 243). He would eventually emulate Blount further by taking over Blount's shop at the sign of the Black Bear in St. Paul's Churchyard (Farr 130).

In this way, Cotes and Allott seem the natural inheritors to the Folio and the roles left open by Blount and Jaggard. Scholars have logically concluded that the "Second Folio proceeded in much the same way as the First: Thomas Cotes was identified as the printer, as Isaac Jaggard had been, and Robert Allott served in the place of Blount as the principle publisher" (Murphy 52). However, if the F1 title page correctly identifies Blount and Jaggard's roles as "named" publishers as being more substantial than those of the unnamed stationers who also had rights to plays in the Folio, then the 1632 edition of Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* offers an intriguing variation on the partnership model for F1's publication. Whereas the Jaggard and Blount imprint is the only known version of the F1 title page, the Second Folio title page exists in five different issues:

> Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *Robert Allot*, and are to be ſold at the ſigne / of the Blacke Beare in Pauls Church-yard. (STC 22274a)
>
> Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *William* [*Aſpley*, and are to be sold a]t the ſigne / of Parrat in Pauls Church-yard. (STC 22274b)
>
> Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *Richard Hawkins*, and are to beſold at his ſhop / in Chancery Lane, neere Serjeants Inne. (STC 22274c)
>
> Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *Richard Meighen*, and are to be ſold at the middle / Temple Gate in Fleetstreet. (STC 22274d)
>
> Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *Iohn Smethwick*, and are to beſold at his ſhop / in Saint *Dunſtans* Church-yard. (STC 22274e)

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[4] On 8 November 1630 Richard Bird transferred over his rights to "Henry the fifth", "Sir John Oldcastle", 'Titus and Andronicus', "Yorke and Lancaster", "Persiles", "Hamblet", and "Yorkshire Tragedy" to Richard Cotes. (Arber IV, 242). Previously, Bird and Brewster were assigned rights to "Mr. Paviers right in Shakesperes plaies or any of them" by Pavier's widow 4 Aug 1626 (Arber IV, 166). While Richard's name appears on numerous publications both with his brother and without from 1629, Richard's name does not appear on any of the F2 title pages or the colophon, suggesting that Thomas was the master printer and more active of the two in the publication of F2.

It is generally agreed that the multiple issues provided each publisher a set of copies clearly displaying his name and the location of the shop where it could be bought on the title page.[5] As the variant issue with the most surviving copies, Allott's is also believed to be the version with the largest printing run, reflecting his position as the primary financial backer for the project (Farr 130). However, the existence of title pages visibly marketing F2 as the product of four additional publishers begs the question whether Allott and Cotes were exclusively responsible for F2's publication. Moreover, these variant title pages challenge the application of the F1 model to the textual narrative of the Second Folio by suggesting that more extensive collaboration may have been at work.

Another possible indicator that Allot and Cotes's roles differed from those of their F1 counterparts may be found in further similarities between Allot and his predecessor, Ed Blount. One of the best-known contradictions of Blount's Shakespeare output is that, despite his possession of the rights of up to sixteen of Shakespeare's plays, Blount never published a single Shakespeare play in quarto. The same holds true for his successor. While Allott published drama from 1629 to 1635, his interests were, like Blount's, decidedly focused on more up-scale theatrical genres such as masques, closet dramas, and university plays. Of the six playbooks Allott published in quarto, only two were commercial dramas: Philip Massinger's *The Maid of Honor* (STC 17638, 1632) and *The Roman Actor* (STC 17642, 1629). However, even these two books emphasise the exclusivity of Allott's repertoire by advertising the Blackfriars as "the private / Play-houſe". The rest of Allott's dramatic output consists of collections: three editions of Thomas Randolph's university plays *Aristippus, or The Jovial Philosopher* and *The Conceited Pedlar (The University Pedlar)* (STC 20687, 20688, 20689), Mateo Aleman's closet drama *The Spanish Bawd (Calisto and Melibeoa)* paired with a non-dramatic text (STC 291, 1634), Ben Jonson's *The Works. Second Volume* (STC 14753.5, 1631), and finally the second Shakespeare Folio (1632). As Allott's only Shakespeare publication, it seems possible that, as with Blount and F1, it was the status of the F2 as a *folio* that appealed to Allott rather than any particular interest in Shakespeare or the commercial theatre. Similarly, Cotes had published few play quartos prior to F2. Only one was a commercial play, a quarto of *The Faithful Shepherdess* (STC 11069, 1629) for Richard Meighen. The other

[5] James G. McManaway (1954) notes the existence of two additional variant title pages: one with no colophon and one with two and significant vertical movement in the location of other colophons. He concludes that none of the copies were printed with a colophon and that these were added later in a second printing. McManaway follows Greg's explanation that the omission of the general colophon was to allow each publisher to insert his own (199, nt 3).

two were university plays which, like *Shepherdess*, Cotes printed for other stationers.[6] Also like Allot, F2 was Cotes's first Shakespeare project. It was not until after F2 that Cotes briefly printed Shakespeare in small format: the first quarto of *The Two Noble Kinsman* (STC 11075) for John Waterson in 1634 and possibly his only Shakespeare quarto publication, the fifth quarto of *Pericles* (STC 22339) in 1635.[7] In this way, Cotes and Allott many have been the two largest financial investors, but their publication histories suggest they had no particular connection to Shakespeare as a commercial playwright in print. Allott's involvement with the project is further called into question by the F2 colophon, which again offers an alternative to the F1 hierarchy:

> Printed at *London* by *Thomas Cotes*, for *John Smethwick*, *William Aſpley*, *Richard Hawkins*, *Richard Meighen*, and *Robert Allott*, 1632. [3d4r]

Here it is not Allott, the major financial investor and Blount's presumed heir apparent who takes the first publisher position in the list of F2 investors, but the publisher/bookseller John Smethwick. Allott, rather unexpectedly, appears last behind Smethwick, William Aspley (who were both mentioned on the F1 colophon), Richard Hawkins, and Richard Meighen. Individually, these four stationers have been considered neither illustrious nor infamous enough Shakespeare stationers to be as readily recognised as Blount and Jaggard or even to be consistently identified with the F2 alongside Allott and Cotes. However, this chapter demonstrates for the first time how the publication activities of Smethwick, Hawkins, and Meighen, whom I will hereafter refer to as the Fleet Street Syndicate, are intrinsically related to the history of Shakespeare in print.[8]

Where Cotes and Allott have no Shakespeare publications prior to F2, these three publisher/booksellers of the F2 colophon collectively comprise an extended history of publishing Shakespeare in both quarto and folio in the 1620s and 1630s. As we saw in chapter three, Richard Hawkins had a repertoire of commercial drama which included the conflated Q2 *Othello*. John Smethwick, in addition to being a named

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[6] *Wine, Beer, and Ale Together by the Ears.* (STC 11542, 1630) by Anonymous. Printed by Thomas Cotes for John Grove, and *Pathomachia, or The Battle of Love's Affections* (STC 19462, 1630) by Anonymous. Printed by Thomas Cotes for Francis Constable.

[7] With the imprint "Printed by Thomas Cotes" and the fact that the rights to *Pericles* were actually held by Richard Cotes, is unclear whether *Pericles* was actually published by Thomas or just printed by him. However, following the logic of F2, because he is listed in both the imprint and colophon, I presume that Thomas was the active Cotes on the project with Richard remaining a silent partner in the Cotes printing house.

[8] William Aspley published quartos of *2 Henry the Fourth* and *Much Ado About Nothing* in 1600 and retained those rights over the next three decades to become a shareholder in both the First and Second Folios. However, as his bookstall was located in St. Paul's Churchyard, he is not considered as part of the Fleet Street Syndicate.

publisher for the 1623 and 1632 Folios, had a history of publishing Shakespeare in quarto stretching nearly forty years (1609-1637). In fact, with the exception of his rights to *Every Man Out of his Humor* in Jonson's 1616 *Workes*, Shakespeare is the only dramatist Smethwick ever published. Richard Meighen published a collection of commercial plays in quarto including the first quarto edition of *Merry Wives of Windsor* based upon the more complete Folio text. Of particular interest in terms of F2, Meighen, Hawkins, and Smethwick produced four of the six Shakespeare quartos published just prior to the Second Folio's release (1630-1631): *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (STC 22301, 1630) by Meighen, *Othello* (1630) by Hawkins, and *Love's Labour's Lost* (STC 22295,1631) and *The Taming of the Shrew* (STC 22327, 1631) by Smethwick. Together, the work of this publisher syndicate provides a definitive link between the quarto and folio markets that does not exist in the F1 textual narrative and an additional market for Shakespeare in print.

This chapter offers a new narrative to account for the collective contributions of Smethwick, Meighen and Hawkins to their pre-Folio collection of Shakespeare in quarto. Building upon the revised ideas of perfecting and textual intervention explored in Chapter Three's study of Richard Hawkins and Q2 *Othello,* Parts One and Two of this chapter examine Richard Meighen's and John Smethwick's approaches to publishing quartos of commercial drama. This analysis pays particular attention to how their Shakespeare quartos correlate with their larger editorial profiles in terms of textual intervention. Part Three then examines the collective impact of the Syndicate's Shakespeare quartos as a conscious collaborative publishing event. By demonstrating that these texts engage with specific local and thematic contexts this research presents the efforts of Meighen, Smethwick and Hawkins as an example of stationer collaboration across texts, formats, and markets.

This chapter also further expands the model of stationer collaboration in early modern textual transmission while drawing attention to the contributions of these three often overlooked stationers. In addition, by situating the Fleet Street Quartos at a literary and historical intersection between quarto and folio markets, my research challenges traditional understandings of the role and value of dramatic quartos in the early modern book market. I conclude by briefly reflecting on how the role and function of editorial practice amongst this Syndicate offers fresh insight into particular editorial characteristics of F2.

Part 1: Richard Meighen

4.1 "A Creature of the last edition, and yet of the old print"[9]

What little information H.R. Plomer's *Dictionary* offers regarding the life and work of Richard Meighen locates him for his entire career (1615-1641) in a single bookstall under St. Clements Church and mentions his only notable publications to be some unnamed law texts that he published in partnership with several other stationers at the end of his career (126-27). In actuality, Meighen's publication history suggests an enterprising and active businessman, bookseller, and publisher who sought authorised texts across a variety of genres. Meighen's early output comprises many of the standard texts that were the "bread and butter" of Jacobean booksellers. In addition to sermons and religious tracts Meighen, like his contemporary Richard Hawkins, also kept a selection of academic titles including collections of *Latin Orations* (STC 4494, 1623) and language texts like *The Marrow of the French Tongue* (STC 25940, 1625). Early on Meighen seemed to appreciate the value of partnerships with prestigious publisher/booksellers. He is listed as the seller on multiple title pages printed by the prominent printer William Stansby including a long poem written on the death of the Baron of Waltham's daughter entitled *Monodia or Waltham's Complaint* (STC 18523, 1615), the gentleman's educational tract, *M. Blundevile His Exercises* (STC 3150, 1622), and the 1616 edition of *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (STC 14752), which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Meighen published his first dramatic quarto, the university comedic dialogue *Work for Cutlers* (STC 25981) in 1615 and one other, the anonymous Red Bull play, *Swetnam the Woman-Hater* (STC 23544), in 1620. A noticeable increase in Meighen's dramatic repertoire begins with his acquiring the rights to John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* on the 8th of December 1628 (Arber IV, 206). One month later, on the 29th of January 1629, Meighen registered four dramatic titles previously owned by the stationer Arthur Johnson: Thomas Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* (STC 17891) and *The Phoenix* (STC 17893), Edward Sharpham's *Cupid's Whirligig* (STC 22383), and Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (STC 22301) (Arber IV, 227). Shortly after this initial foray into classic Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama, Meighen would go on to cultivate connections with living playwrights. Shackerley Marmion wrote a dedication for Meighen's 1634 publication of *The Faithful Shepherdess* (STC 11070, A2v-A3r), and

[9] *Cupid's Whirligig*, 1.2.58-59.

Meighen would publish three plays for William Davenant between 1635-36: *The Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour* (STC 6308), *The Platonic Lovers* (STC 6305), and *The Wits* (STC 6309). In addition, through the publication of Thomas Goffe's *The Raging Turk* (STC 11980, 1631), *The Courageous Turk* (STC 11977, 1632), and *Orestes* (STC 11982, 1633), Meighen is connected with the nearby Salisbury Court Theatre, a small indoor playhouse that "catered to the gentry, especially to students and lawyers, rather than to the London citizenry, and charged higher prices accordingly" (Gurr "Gunnell").[10] Possible growing interest in a higher class of playgoer can also be seen in the royal connections insinuated on several of Meighen's title pages. *The Phoenix* is noted as being "*preſented before his Maieſtie*", Shakerley Marmyon's *A Fine Companion* (STC17442, 1633) is advertised as "Acted before the King and Queene / at WHITE-HALL" and the title page of Meighen's 1634 reprint of *The Faithful Shepherdess* (STC 11070) makes much of the fact that the play was "ACTED AT SOMERSET / Houſe before the King and / QVEENE on Twelfe night / laſt, 1633".

Of the five play titles Meighen acquired between December 1628 and January 1629, title page dates suggest that only *The Faithful Shepherdess* was published that same year. The four remaining plays, *The Merry Wives of Windsor, Cupid's Whirligig, The Phoenix, and Michaelmas Term,* were published a year later in 1630. In addition to being published in the same year, all four editions were also printed by the same printer, the stationer Thomas Harper, thus presenting a brief, but concentrated collaboration between Harper and Meighen. A contemporary of Meighen, Harper's name appears in title page imprints as early as 1614, and a stretch of imprints on books printed for Harper in 1626 suggest that he may have had a go at being a bookseller/publisher. However, Harper was trained as a printer and the noticeable move of his name from the "Printed for" to the "Printed by" position on imprints from 1628-29 coincides with his acquisition of the printing business, and subsequent master printer status, previously belonging to the printer Thomas Snodham.[11] Harper would continue to secure the rights to various

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[10] Part of the theatre's luxury apparently involved offering "coles to all Roomes", suggesting that there were fires in all boxes or private rooms of the theatre (Gerald 106). Though Gerald, quite reasonably, wonders what they did about the smoke.

[11] It is unclear when exactly Harper "bought" Snodham's business. Pollard and Redgrave note that he acquired it in 1628 from George Wood who had himself acquired it from Snodham (STC Index 76). In his *Dictionary* Pollard notes that Harper bought the business from Wood and William Lee in 1634. The *Stationers' Register* however, records in a note from autumn 1635 that Harper had "succeeded Thomas Snodham about 6 yeeres since" or 1629 (Arber III, 701). This note also makes mention of Wood on numerous instances unsuccessfully contesting Harper's claim but that Wood had "twise bene ouerthown in ye [Court of] requesttes and twise in [the Court of] Chancery" (Arber III, 704). Regardless, by the publication of the Star Chamber's list of Master Printers, recorded 11 July 1637, Thomas Harper is listed as a master printer (Arber IV, 528).

titles in his own name throughout his career, but from then on he was first and foremost a printer. Further evidence of where Harper's interests lay can be seen in a *Stationers' Register* record from 22nd January 1639 where it is made a proviso of Harper's transfer of the publication rights of a book entitled *The Compleat Horse-man and Expert Farrier* (STC 12205) to another stationer that "Thomas Harper is alwaies to have the printing of the said halfe booke" (Arber I, 451).[12] Harper's output covers the traditional genres one would expect to find in a Caroline printing house: theology, "witty" poetry, sermons, dictionaries, travel writing and, in the early 1650s, music. Over the course of his career, Harper would also print his share of dramatic texts. However, taking primarily the printer's role, Harper only published four of those titles for himself. Of these four, Harper's sole venture into commercial play publication was also his first dramatic text: his 1633 quarto of William Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust* (STC 21425). Harper's other three dramatic ventures consist of more "elite" drama: a folio collection of non-dramatic texts and closet dramas written by William Alexander the Earl of Stirling entitled *Recreations with the Muses* (STC 347, 1637), *Cornelianum Dolium* (STC 20691) a Latin comedy by Thomas Randolph, and Ralph Freeman's *Imperiale* (STC 11369). All four of these plays are replete with external paratextual evidence of playwright intervention such as Latin mottos on their title pages and a variety of epistles and dedications including one from the Earl of Stirling to King James (*Recreations* A2r-A3r).

While Harper's publishing preferences did not favour drama, he did not refuse to print them for others. Harper's press would produce twenty-four different titles by nearly as many playwrights across the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline eras. In 1630 Harper printed seven different plays for fellow stationers, including four for Richard Meighen.[13] It seems that to help get his business started, Harper was not above keeping his press busy printing plays. Considering Harper's profile as a printer and the small number of dramatic texts in his own publication repertoire, it is not surprising to find little external paratextual evidence that can be linked to Harper in any of the plays he printed for himself or for others. Beyond his name in the imprints, Harper is connected to no known dedications or epistles. Rather, Harper appears to leave the authorisation of the texts he prints to the playwrights and their associates. In the specific case of the

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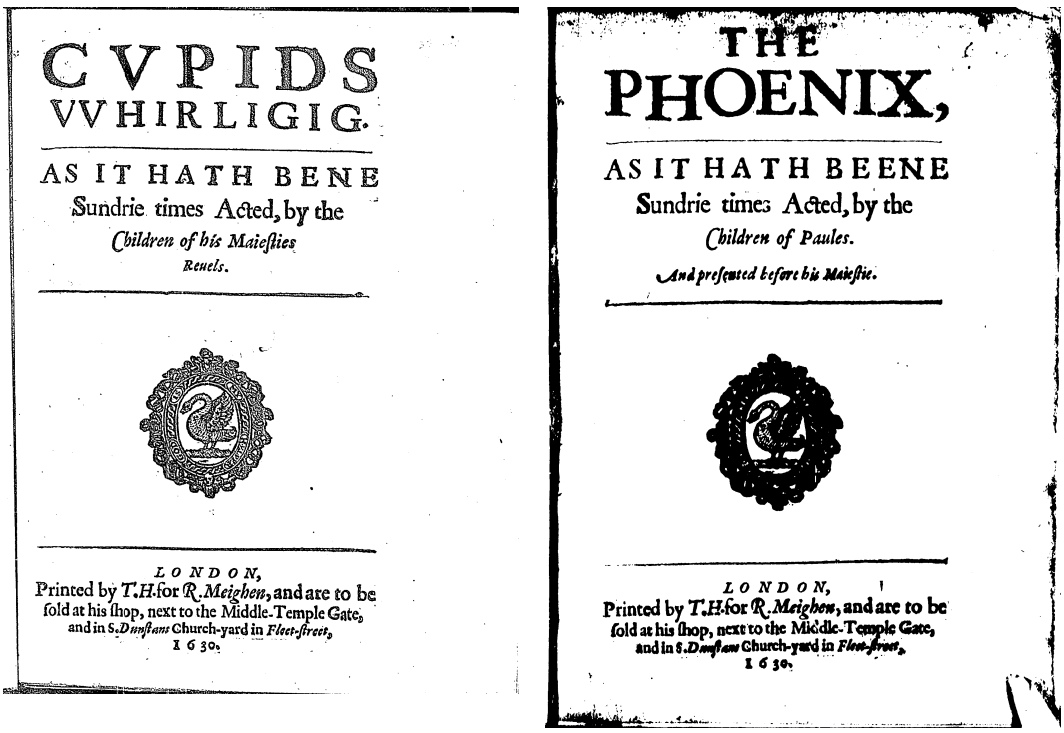
[12] by Thomas De Gray printed by N. Fussell, 1639.

[13] The other plays were William Davenant's *The Just Italian* (STC 6303) for John Waterson, George Ruggle's *Ignoramus* (STC 21446) for John Spencer and Godfrey Emerson, and Thomas Randolph's collection of *Aristippus* and *The Conceited Pedlar* (20686, 20686.5). It is worth noting that *Ignoramus* and Randolph's collection are also university plays and therefore more like Harper's other dramatic publications than Meighen's.

four quartos he printed for Richard Meighen, the evidence for Harper's visibility is even slightly less. Meighen's quartos are four of only thirty-seven instances out of approximately 234 texts where Harper reduces his imprint signature to only his initials. Such a move is reminiscent of Nicholas Okes's withholding of his name from Q1 *King Lear,* while choosing to include it on the title page of the more prestigious publication *Vertumnus.* In Chapter One, this evidence supports the idea that to printers, even more so perhaps at the beginning of their careers, it was more desirable to be visibly associated with some texts than with others. A distinct focus on printing combined with limited interest in dramatic publication in general and no personal investment in plays from the commercial theatre do not distinguish Harper as an active textual intervenor in his dramatic publications. On the other hand, the evidence of Richard Meighen's connections with local dramatists outlined above, combined with the discussion of his textual intervention in dramatic quartos which follows, suggests that, unlike Harper, Meighen was very interested in publishing commercial drama. This distribution of authority strongly indicates that any exceptional textual intervention in the Meighen/ Harper quartos analysed in this chapter was most likely by, or at the behest of, their publisher, Richard Meighen.

While Harper left little paratextual confirmation of his work on Meighen's quartos, bibliographical evidence from the title pages of the four quartos does suggest that Harper printed them in close succession. W.W. Greg originally identified the same imprint on the title pages of *The Phoenix* and *Cupid's Whirligig* (Greg *Bibliography* I, 374). Further comparison of the two pages shows repetition of several unique letters in the performance details: most prominently the "t" with a notch under the left side of the cross mark in "times" and the "N" with an extended foot in "bene" and "beene" suggesting the reuse of the type pieces for "AS IT HATH BEENE / Sundrie times Acted, by the" on both title pages. (See Figure 4.1) The overall layout of title page content in the two pages is also equal in all sections, suggesting that the frames and type, including the five line imprint, were probably left together after the printing of the first quarto so the compositors would only need to change the title and the acting company before printing the second title page. The similarities between the two pages also make it possible to suggest which title page, and probably which quarto, was printed first. The use of "BENE" on *Cupid's Whirligig* and "BEENE" on *The Phoenix* is the only spelling variant in the sections of re-used type. When comparing the spacing of the entire line "AS IT HATH BEENE" on both pages it becomes apparent that the extra "E" added to

"BEENE" on *The Phoenix* title page disrupts the even spacing of the capital letters on the same line of the title page for *Cupid's Whirligig.* This spacing suggests that the page was originally set up with the even spacing when the first title page was printed and when the spelling was changed for whatever reason, the addition of the extra letter disrupted the original spacing. It stands to reason then that the title page for *Cupid's Whirligig* was printed first and was subsequently reused to print *The Phoenix* sometime afterwards. Visual examination of the title pages of *Michaelmas Term* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* also suggest comparable sharing of title page type with similarities in printer's device, imprint, and descriptions of the two plays as "*Newly Corrected*". (See Figure 4.2) Harper's apparent printing of the four quartos in close succession makes it possible that they appeared on Meighen's bookstall for sale at the same time. As such, it might also be the case that Meighen intended to provide his customers access to numerous plays simultaneously. Considering this "burst" of drama in Meighen's stall in light of his future connections with Davenant, Marmyon, and Goff at the Salisbury Court Theatre, suggests a conscious attempt to establish his shop, by this time now located next to the Middle Temple Gate, as a market for readers of plays in quarto.



CVPIDS
VVHIRLIGIG.

AS IT HATH BENE
Sundrie times Acted, by the
Children of his Maieſties
Reuels.

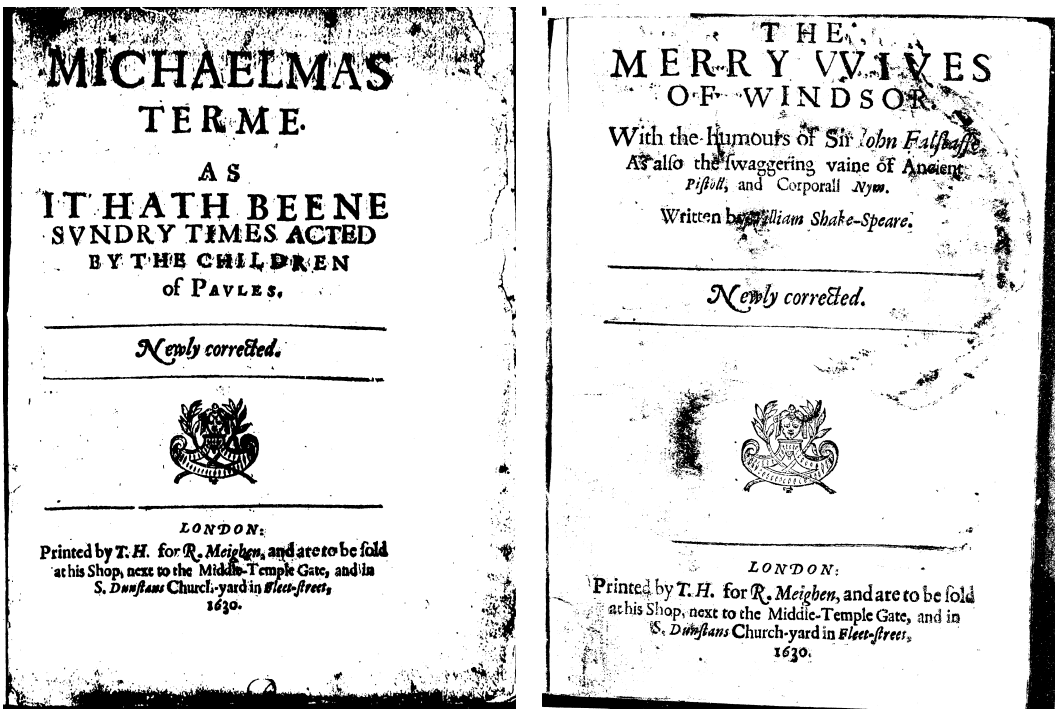
LONDON,
Printed by T. H. for R. *Meighen*, and are to be
ſold at his ſhop, next to the Middle-Temple Gate,
and in S. *Dunſtans* Church-yard in *Fleet-ſtreet*,
1630.

THE
PHOENIX,

AS IT HATH BEENE
Sundrie times Acted, by the
Children of Paules.
And preſented before his Maieſtie.

LONDON,
Printed by T. H. for R. *Meighen*, and are to be
ſold at his ſhop, next to the Middle-Temple Gate,
and in S. *Dunſtans* Church-yard in *Fleet-ſtreet*,
1630.

Figure 4.1 Title pages of *Cupid's Whirligig* (1630) and *The Phoenix* (1630).



MICHAELMAS
TERME.
AS
IT HATH BEENE
SVNDRY TIMES ACTED
BY THE CHILDREN
of PAVLES.

Newly corrected.

LONDON:
Printed by T. H. for R. *Meighen*, and are to be sold at his Shop, next to the Middle-Temple Gate, and in S. *Dunſtans* Church-yard in *Fleet-ſtreet*, 1630.

THE
MERRY VVIVES
OF WINDSOR.
With the humours of Sir *John Falſtaffe*,
As alſo the ſwaggering vaine of Ancient
Piſtoll, and Corporall *Nym*.
Written by *William Shake-Speare*.

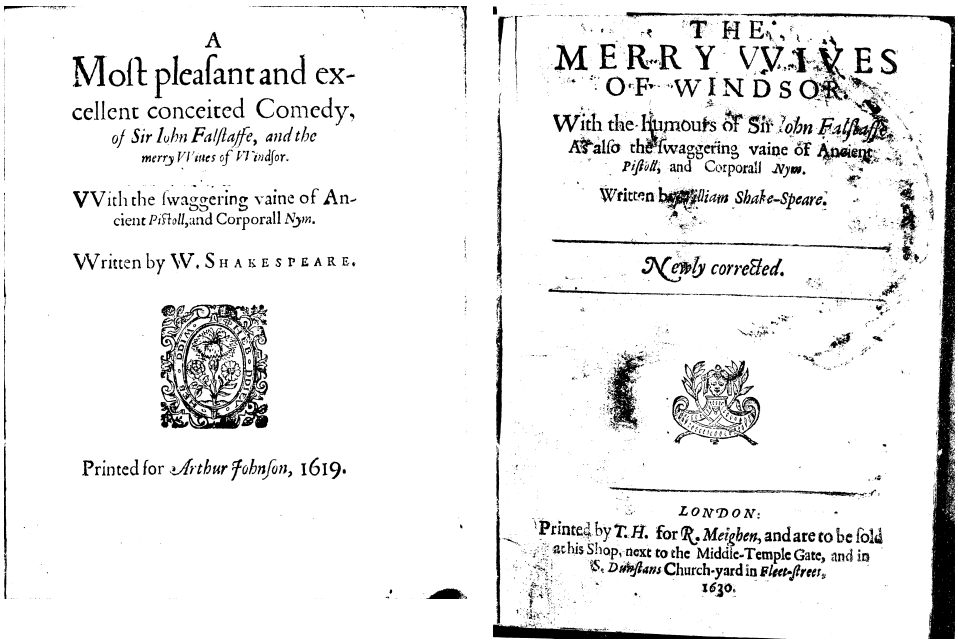
Newly corrected.

LONDON:
Printed by T. H. for R. *Meighen*, and are to be sold at his Shop, next to the Middle-Temple Gate, and in S. *Dunſtans* Church-yard in *Fleet-ſtreet*, 1630.

Figure 4.2 Title pages of *Michaelmas Term* (1630) and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1630).

The one consistent element in all of Meighen's printed drama is the use of his name, which appears consistently in the imprints of all his publications. Nearly as regular is reference to the location of his shop which enables us to follow his progress down the Strand from "vnder Saint *Clements* Church without / Temple Barre" from 1615-23 (STC 3150), to his expansion to two locations "at the ſigne of the Leg in the Strand" (STC 25940) and in Saint Dunstan's in the West on Fleet Street in 1625. By 1631 Meighen was still at Saint Dunstan's but had relocated his shop at the Leg to a new stall, "next to the Middle-Temple Gate" (STC 17891). After this time, perhaps due to the competition in Saint Dunstan's which included his syndicate colleague John Smethwick, Meighen consolidated his business into one shop working for the rest of his career out of the single location next to the Middle Temple Gate (STC 6309). In regards to his dramatic publication, Meighen's title pages are, with few exceptions, conventional and simple. Titles are consistently followed by performance history and reference acting companies, playhouses or memorable performances typically before royalty. The only exception to this is the title page to *The Merry Wives of Windsor* which follows the F1 retitling to feature the Wives over previous quartos' emphasis of Falstaff. (See Figure 4.3) Writers are often mentioned particularly in the later years when Meighen published the work of living playwrights (Marmyon and Davenant) and their deceased friends (Thomas Goff). Of the Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights whose

work he published, only Fletcher on *The Faithful Shepherdess* and Shakespeare on *Merry Wives* are acknowledged. Of the four Meighen/Harper quartos, *Michaelmas Term* and *Merry Wives of Windsor* are both marketed as "Newly corrected". The accuracy of this promise will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.



A
Moſt pleaſant and ex-
cellent conceited Comedy,
of Sir Iohn Falſtaffe, and the
merry VVines of VVindſor.

VVith the ſwaggering vaine of An-
cient *Piſtoll*, and Corporall *Nym*.

Written by W. SHAKESPEARE.

Printed for *Arthur Johnſon*, 1619.

THE
MERRY VVIVES
OF WINDSOR.

With the Humours of Sir *Iohn Falſtaffe*.
As alſo the ſwaggering vaine of Ancient
Piſtoll, and Corporall *Nym*.

Written by *William Shake-Speare*.

Newly corrected.

LONDON:
Printed by T. H. for *R. Meighen*, and are to be ſold
at his Shop, next to the Middle-Temple Gate, and in
S. *Dunſtans* Church-yard in *Fleet-ſtreet*.
1630.

Figure 4.3 Title pages of Q2 *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1619) and Q3 *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1630).

Additional paratextual evidence shows Meighen using his textual authority to promote himself as a publisher of dramatic quartos. For example, in what may also be the earliest glimpse of his own writing voice, Meighen uses space between the Prologue and the dramatis personae to advise potential readers:

> Vouchſafe to reade, I dare preſume to ſay,
> Yee ſhall be pleaſed; and thinke 'tis a good play. (π2v)

These two lines of iambic verse in Meighen's 1620 publication of *Swetnam the Woman-hater* (STC 23544) are unsigned. However, the anonymity of the author on the title page, combined with the visibility of Meighen in the imprint, asserts the publisher's authority over the text. At the same time, the lines employ the same kind of "try it, you'll like it" language habitually used by other early modern publishers in their epistles including Hawkins's verse for *A King and No King* discussed in Chapter Three. Other details in the verse itself also suggest a non-authorial agent, for instance, the mimicking of poetic

elements from the final lines of the prologue, which appears just above these two lines, suggests an effort to imitate the preexistent verse.

> *Be but you patient, I dare boldly ſay,*
> *(If euer women pleaſed) weele pleaſe to day.* (Prologue lines 12-13, π2v)

The repetition of the "ay" sound in the final rhyming couplet combined with the recycling of the end words of each phrase: "I dare", "ſay", and "pleaſed" reveal a verse which takes the sentiment and template of the prologue's last two lines and adjusts it to fit a bookseller's purpose. In terms of quality, the meticulous following of both the rhyme and meter of the playwright's verse does not suggest the work of a dramatist, rather someone who is copying in an attempt to produce verse that sounds like the work of a professional. In this way, this pedestrian verse might reflect Meighen attempting to try his hand at imitating the poetry he reads in the books he sells in much the same way Hawkins wrote his epigram for *A King and No King*. One final detail from these lines may present a link with Meighen. The use of "Vouchſafe to reade" in the unsigned couplet as an invitation to read the work is reflected in Meighen's signed dedication to Thomas Goff's *The Raging Turke* where he suggests to his dedicatee, Sir Richard Tichbourne,

> *...Now if you* ***vouchſafe***
> ***to receiue and ſhelter it****, you will not onely preſerve unblemiſh'd*
> *the euer-liuing fame of the dead Author, but aſſure me that you*
> *kindly accept this humble acknowledgement of*
> Your moſt obliged and
> ready reall Seruant,
> RICH. MEIGHEN. (A2r, 17-23)

The intervention suggested in the unsigned verse in *Swetnam* is strengthened by Meighen's two signed dedications: the first from *The Raging Turke* quoted in part above, and the second in its partner play, *The Courageous Turke*. Printed eleven years after *Swetnam* and two years after the Meighen/Harper quartos in 1632, these dedications commend two plays by the deceased Oxford playwright Thomas Goff to two noble brothers, Sir Richard and Sir Walter Tichbourne. Together these dedications offer additional insights into Meighen's interest in dramatic publication at the pivotal time between the printing of the Meighen/Harper quartos in 1630 and the second Shakespeare Folio in 1632.

In the dedication to *The Raging Turke,* Meighen explains how he obtained these two plays for publication: "*THis Tragedy, a manuſcript, with another of the ſame Authors, came lately to my hands; ... by the conſent of his eſpeciall friend*" (A2r, 6-7, 12-13). Meighen's claim that he got permission to print not from the author, but by a particular acquaintance suggests that by 1631 Meighen was either a stationer who actively sought out dramatic copy from a variety of avenues or was known to be interested in dramatic copy and could be approached by owners of manuscripts. Meighen also seemed to have embraced the language of the theatre explaining, in the dedication to *The Courageous Turke,* that the plays are more apt to be treated poorly by the public because the deceased Goff "*ha's made* EXit *hence*" (A2r, 16-17). Meighen is also very clear on the fact that his dedications must defend plays against ignorant readers who are unwilling or intellectually incapable of appreciating a play:

> *The intent, and uſe of Dedication* ***as I haue obſerved,*** *is to no other end then that ignorance and ſpite, / (ſworne Enemies to ingenuity) ſhould know upon their dull or envious diſlikes, whe- / ther to repayre and receive reformation.*
>
> (A2r-v, 17-18, 1-4).

Meighen's claim to have imitated the way others use their dedications shows that he actively read them with an eye to noting how they functioned. Meighen's "observations" thus record the same transfer of writer/stationer skills seen between Okes and Heywood in Chapter Two and the overlap of skills in Chettle's textual persona seen in Chapter One. Perhaps as a result of his many years selling from bookstalls amongst the Inns of Court on the Strand and at the Middle Temple Gate, Meighen expresses a particularly high regard for ingenuity, offering it as his highest praise to Sir Richard Tichbourne whom he addresses as "THE NO LESSE / INGENIOVS / fauourer of ingenuity" (*Raging Turke* A2r, 1-3). For his own part, Meighen offers his own enticement for the erudite reader in the form of a few select Latinisms in his dedication: describing Thomas Goff as an "*Ominum scenarum homo*" (a man good at everything) and his plays as "*Nugae*" (trifles). In addition to reminding the reader that the author was not a professional playwright but a gentleman who wrote plays for recreation, the use of these phrases, along with two additional quotes from Seneca on the title page,[14] presents the quarto as aimed at readers educated in Latin and Classical tragedy. In this way, Meighen ultimately used his dedications to establish

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[14] *Monſtra fato, ſcelera moribus imputes / Det ille veniam fácilè cui venia eſt opus.*

himself as a publisher of drama for a particular class of intellectually sophisticated readers.

While Meighen's dedications reveal a desire to tailor his publications towards a particular readership, the question remains as to why he contributes no similar dedications or epistle verses to the four quartos published in 1630. Patterns of paratextual intervention across Meighen's publishing output reveal that the most authorising details appear in his publications of first editions. In each case, these texts were authorised through dedicatory epistles, poems, and title page mottos written by, or in honour of, their authors.[15] The underlying condition for Meighen's intervention in the three texts where he contributes either a verse or a dedication becomes clear, with an anonymous author for *Swetnam* and a deceased Thomas Goff for the *Turke* plays, Meighen takes it upon himself to testify to the integrity of these first editions in lieu of the absent playwright.[16] With no such attributions in *The Phoenix, Michaelmas Term, Cupid's Whirligig*, or *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* it appears that Meighen did not see the need to authorise reprinted plays in a similar way.[17] Such disregard would seem to suggest that Meighen was not overly interested in the nostalgic ethos associated with the publication of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, as mentioned in Chapter Three. However, Meighen's specific expanding of his dramatic repertoire from 1629 onwards demonstrates a decisive move *towards* publishing and selling commercial drama in print that places his editions of *The Merry Wives of Windsor, The Phoenix, Michaelmas Term,* and *Cupid's Whirligig* at the beginning of a long association with local playhouses and playwrights. The examination of Richard Meighen's textual intervention in these early quartos that follows again proves that a lack of paratext does not denote publisher disinterest in dramatic publication.

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[15] See, for example, *A Fine Companion* (STC 17442, 1633) and Shakerley Marmyon's dedication "To the Truely Noble, and his Worthie Kinseman in all respects, Sir Ralph Dutton" (A2r) signed by Marmyon.

[16] The only reprint with a dedication is Meighen's reprint of Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* which contains a dedication from Shakerley Marmyon to Joseph Taylor commending him on his recent production of Fletcher's play before the King and Queen at Whitehall over twelfth night, 1633 (STC 11070, sig. A2r).

[17] Meighen's edition of *Cupid's Whirligig* does not even include the Epistle from Edward Sharpham to Robert Hayman [A2r] which appears in all three previous editions of the play. With Meighen not including any dedications in the other three 1630 quartos, this offers the possibility that if Meighen had access to the epistle, he chose not to publish it. Though this is, of course, speculation.

4.2 Textual Intervention in Meighen's 1630 Quartos

Chapter Three's study of Richard Hawkins's Q2 *Othello* demonstrated that limited paratextual authority is not synonymous with an unattended playtext. Meighen's 1630 quartos also present minimal paratextual evidence alongside consciously emended playtexts. By collating Meighen's four 1630 quartos *The Phoenix, Michaelmas Term, The Merry Wives of Windsor,* and *Cupid's Whirligig* with their immediate predecessors, these quartos, frequently dismissed by modern editors, reveal patterns of textual intervention characteristic of non-authorial agents.[18] The analysis which follows uses the most prevalent kinds of emendations to construct an editorial profile of the textual interaction typically seen in Meighen's quartos. As in the previous chapters, this information allows for better understanding of the collaboration between Meighen's annotating agent(s) and his playwrights within the textual space of their dramatic works.

Numerous words missing in the plays' previous printings appear for the first time in Meighen's quartos as in this example from *The Merry Wives of Windsor* [19]:

4.2.171
Miſt.Ford. ...good Gentle-/ men, let him **[ ]** ſtrike the old woman (F1 TLN 2063-63)
Miſ. Ford. ...good Gentlemen, / let him **not** ſtrike the old woman. (Q3, H2r, 9-10)[20]

As the F1 line makes sense by itself, Q3's addition of "not" not only significantly changes the meaning of the line but also suggests an awareness of the action in the scene. Only an attentive reader would have known that, regardless of her actual feelings about Falstaff getting beaten, Mistress Ford must act as if she believes the disguised man is her maid's aunt, the fat woman of Brentford, so she must ask Ford not to strike her/him. For this reason, although incorrectly crediting this variant to F2, Black and Shaaber in their study, *Shakespeare's Seventeenth Century Editors, 1632-1685,* also believe the addition reflects a conscious examination of the text and thus include it in

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[18] The collations are Q2 of *The Phoenix* with Q1 (STC 17892, 1607), Q2 *Michaelmas Term* with Q1 (STC, 17890, 1607), Q3 *The Merry Wives of Windsor* with F1 (1623), and Q4 *Cupid's Whirligig* with Q3 (STC 22382, 1616) and Q1 (STC 22380, 1607). All substantive variants considered in this study are recorded in the appendix

[19] All Act, Scene, and line numbers for *The Merry Wives of Windsor* refer to the Arden 3 edition of the play edited by Giorgio Melchiori.

[20] Additional examples of this kind of variants include: "I" *MW* 2.1.1 (Q3, C1v, 7), "to" *PHX* scene 10.9 (Q2, F1v, 6-7), "a" *PHX* Scene 4.33-4(Q2, B3r, 22-3), *Cupid* 3.2.46 "a**"** (Q4, E4r,22), *Cupid* 4.3.42 "ourselfe" (Q4, G2r, 22-3), *MT* 1.2.294-5 "tell" (Q2, B3v, 6-7)

their highest category of variants: "Omitted words necessary to the meaning" (99). In this way such variants, though subtle by nature, may when considered as a group reflect active textual intervention and support the editorial profile which follows.

4.3a Annotating Readers in the Meighen Quartos

In addition to this preliminary level of correction, Meighen's quartos also bear evidence of the more sophisticated intervention associated by Sonia Massai with the category of annotating readers. As discussed in Chapter Three, changes made by such agents typically demonstrate a more in-depth knowledge of a "fictive world of the play" that is typically manifested in attention to "inconsistencies in speech prefixes, stage directions, and dialogue" (*Rise* 5, 11). Massai also argues that publishers in particular are "a major category of annotating readers and procurement of annotated copy" (*Rise* 31). For this reason, it is not surprising that each of Meighen's 1630 quartos shows at least minimal evidence of intervention in all three areas associated with annotating readers. The first category describes variants seeking to clarify dialogue, specifically in relation to inaccurate details "which would only attract the attention of a careful reader" (Massai *Rise* 21). Variants such as the following from *Cupid's Whirligig* 2.3.113 address such inconsistencies:

> *Kni.* ...Is not the Princes and **founders** of good artes Miner- / ua
> (Q3, D1r, 3-4)
> *Kni.* ...Is not the Princess & **foundreſſe** of good arts Miner- / ua
> (Q4, D1r, 3)[21]

While "Princes" may have been excused as an alternate spelling of "Princess", the agent in question decided that "founders" was not an appropriate title for the goddess Minerva. Because the mismatched gender is not revealed until the end of the line, it can be inferred that the agent in question read the line, determined it was unclear, and then went back to adjust the beginning of the line to match the ending. Such emendations not only argue for annotating reader intervention, they characterise this reading as more attentive than the level behind incidental variants. Other changes to dialogue support

[21] All act, scene, and line numbers for *Cupid's Whirligig* refer to Christopher Gordon Petter's *A Critical Old Spelling Edition of The Works of Edward Sharpham* (1986).

Massai's assertion that annotating readers were also concerned with "chang(ing) lines whose original sense is far from obvious" (*Rise* 21). In *The Phoenix,* the Prince's ode to the law in scene four is usually presented as seen below:

> Maid with meek eyes, persuading action,
> No loud immodest tongue voiced like a virgin,
> And as chaste from **sale**,
> Save only to be heard, but not to rail (4.201-204)[22]

In their edition for *The Collected Works*, Danson and Kamps link the phrase "chaste from sale" to the theme that law is free of corruption by paraphrasing it in their notes as: "the law, like a virgin, is not for sale" (101). When looking at this same phrase, the annotating agent for Meighen's Q2 edition also felt this image was unclear. However, without the use of notes to explain the confusion, the agent instead offered readers an alternative reading which in his mind was more readily associated with the idea of spotless virginity: "And as chafte from **fault**" (C1r, 32).

Replacing Middleton's ingenious figurative language with a more literal reading, the opposite of Hawkins's preference for *lectio difficilior,* is a consistent trait of the textual intervention in Meighen's quartos. At the same time the variant still encapsulates the main idea of the prince's monologue, suggesting that the agent was interested in clarifying what was thought to be a confusing image rather than significantly rewrite the line or change the imagery. As a result, this non-authorial variant may actually be an attempt to make the playwright's intention more accessible to the seventeenth century reader. Interest in accessibility often at the expense of more complex authorial language is perhaps the most dominant philosophy of the intervention seen in Meighen's quartos. This practice is most fully realised when Meighen's agents emend texts using what I describe as "visual cognates" or words that are not only similar in meaning to the term they are replacing, but also visually resemble the original. This typical example from *The Phoenix* scene 4 line 44 suggests a visually similar synonym for the playwright's more ambiguous image:

> P*hoe*. ...villanous **Law-worme,** that eates holes into poore me[n]s / causes.
> (Q1, B4r, 9-10)
> *Phoe*. ...villa- / nous **Low-worme,** that eates holes into poore mens causes:
> (Q2, B3r, 31-32)

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[22] All scene and line numbers for *The Phoenix* are from Lawrence Danson and Ivo Kamps' edition for *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (2007).

Here the emending agent does not seem to understand "Law-worme" as a creative slur meant to describe the devious and corrupt lawyer, Tangle. To clarify this image the agent chooses "Low" a more literal image for a worm that also matches the sentiment surrounding Tangle's character. While this would be enough for any emendation, the change also ingeniously uses a word that contains many of the same letters. The agents in all of Meighen's quartos, and particularly in *Merry Wives* and *Michaelmas Term,* are admirably adept at this skill.[23]

The Merry Wives of Windsor
1.3.42
Fal. ...I ſpie entertainment in her : ſhee diſcourſes :
ſhee **carues***:* ſhe giues the leere of inuitation *:* (F1 TLN 338-39)
Fal. ...I ſpie entertainment in her, ſhee diſcourſes, ſhe **craues**,
ſhe giues the leere of inuitation ; (Q3, B2v, 15)

4.2.175
Ford. ...you Witch, / you **Ragge**, you Baggage, you Poulcat, you Runnion...
(F1 TLN 2067-68)
Ford. ...you Witch, you / **Hagge**, you Baggage, you Poulcat, you Runnion ...
(Q3, H2r, 13-14)

At first glance, these Q3 variants might be dismissed off-hand as cases of misplaced letters or "foul case" that coincidentally resulted in new words. However, these changes also provide reasonable alternatives to historically uncertain readings. In the case of "carves/craves" all modern editions follow F1, agreeing that in the seventeenth century "carves" linked the action of carving or serving at table with the general duties of a hostess attending to her guests.[24] However, amended with numerous provisos, even these readings are far from definitive. T.W. Craik warns in his Oxford single edition that the term is "not positively explained" but then insists that "there must be a connection" with the carving meat image (*Merry Wives* 97). In his Arden three edition, Giorgio Melchiori gives readers a choice defining "carves" as either "generous in her welcome"

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[23]Additional examples of visual cognates not mentioned elsewhere include from *The Merry Wives of Windsor:* "Skirts" with "Shirts" (1.1.26), "carry" with "marry" (1.1.214), "fee'd...bought" with "free'd...brought" (2.2.186-189), "tightly" with "rightly" (1.3.83), "false" with "faire" (2.2.276). From *The Phoenix:* "slinking" with "stinking" (scene 10.116), "bonds" with "bands" (scene 8.248-9). From *Michaelmas Term*: "commodities, looke, seeke" with "commodities looke sleeke" (1.2.86), "lastes" with "lashes" (5.3.111), "foote" with "foole" (2.3.62). From *Cupid's Whirligig:* "kil'd" with "kssd" (1.4.10), "Sunne-glasses" with "Sunne glances" (2.1.1), "Angle" with "Angel" (2.2.85), "be...doe" with "her...doth" (3.3.142).

[24] The exception being the Oxford *Complete Works* which follows F1 with no gloss or explanation in the *Textual Companion.*

or "in discoursing affably she minces her words" (148). If we understand Q3's "craves" as addressing the same point in the text but without the benefit of notes and glosses, Meighen's agent is one of a line of textual agents attempting to reconcile an unclear reading. Moreover, replacing "carves" with the visual cognate "craves" suggests that a seventeenth century reader may have interpreted "carves" as a typographical error. Similarly, F1's "Ragge" is uniformly accepted over Q3's "Hagge" because, as Melchiori reminds us "Hagge" has no meaningful connection to the text. However, in addition to incorrectly attributing "Hagge" to F3 rather than Q3, Melchiori also overlooks the particular relevance "Hagge" has in the local context of the play. Q3's use of "Hagge" is a more literal synonym for the "old woman of Brentford" who, it was just revealed at 4.2.82, Ford believes is a witch. Moreover, just a few lines before the "Ragge/Hagge" variant, Ford actually uses the term in the same sense admonishing the disguised Falstaff with "you Witch, you Hagge you" (4.2.168; Q3, H2r,7). Thus, a practice also seen as an indicator of non-authorial intervention in Hawkins's collations, this visual cognate draws from existing language of the playtext to clarify an image, supporting a similar level of annotator reading across Meighen's quartos.

4.3b Annotating Readers: Virtual Performance, Speech Prefixes & Stage Directions

Meighen's annotating agents also share Hawkins's interest in virtual performance, or the impact of the play when read. Less invasive than Hawkins's additions, Meighen's agents introduce visual cognates and adjust punctuation in moments particularly relevant to reader understanding. Meighen's quarto of Middleton's *Michaelmas Term,* contains a number of additions which use a knowledge of the fictive world of the play and a desire to clarify details in order to enhance the play's virtual performance. These examples from *Michaelmas Term* 4.4.35-6, 40-1 use knowledge of the play's action to suggest particular delivery of lines for readers who will not benefit from an actor's performance.[25]

> *Sim.* ... what honeſty didſt thou ere know by my / **Father** ſpeake, rule your tongue Beadle leaſt I make you / proue it, ...
> ...I would / I might be hang'd, I **feare** such filthye Tales goe on him
> (Q1, H2v, 31-3, 37-8)

[25] All scene and line numbers for *Michaelmas Term* are from Theodore B. Leinwand's edition for *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (2007).

Sim: ... what honeſty didſt thou ere know by my / **Father?** ſpeake, rule your tongue Beadle leſt I make you / proue it ...
.....I would / *I* might be hang'd, I **heare** ſuch filthy Tales goe on him
(Q2, H2v, 31-3, 37-8)

Adding the question mark at line 35 emphasises a pointedness to Sim's question that might be expressed by an actor's inflection during performance. Furthermore, the introduction of the visual cognate "heare" suggests the work of an agent familiar with the play who would see Sim fearing his father's lewd behaviour as out of character with his general tone of command and his clear disapproval of his father's acts in the rest of the speech. Similarly, Q2's change to "Who's this?" at 1.2.147 might be barely noticeable in performance but visually clarifies Q1's awkward use of "Whose".

Sale: **Whose tis ?** in the name of the blacke Angels, *An- / dre Gruill*.
(Q1, B1v, 16-17)
Sale. **Who's this?** in the name of the blacke Angels, *Andre / Gruill*.
(Q2 B1v, 16)

The relevance of this variant to the reading success of the line no doubt accounts for this change being retained by many nineteenth and twentieth century editors including Dyce (1840), Bullen (1885), Sampson (1915), and Schelling (1949). In addition, the use of essentially the same phrase again at 5.1.109 (I1r, 7) denotes a consistent editorial choice used at the beginning and end of the play, suggesting that at least one annotating reader regarded the whole play from start to finish.[26] Overall, these examples suggest that textual intervenors in Meighen's 1630 quartos frequently looked for economical ways to clarify dialogue for reading.

This focus on virtual performance is also seen in other variants that can be associated with annotating readers: speech prefixes and stage directions. Although such elements are typically associated with performance, Massai's study of printed copies prepared for performance reveals that theatrical agents "paid only cursory attention to the overall quality of the text" and were less inclined to make corrections to such details "unless they involved substantial changes in stage action" (*Rise* 13). In other words, unless it represented a marked difference from what was being performed, theatrical agents did not see the need to update their copies with every minor detail. In reading texts, however, stage directions and speech prefixes take on a more central role as

[26] For additional examples of this kind of variant in *Michaelmas Term* see also 2.3.62, 2.3.320, 3.1.126, 3.4.136-139, 5.3.15, 5.3.111, 5.5.75 in the appendix.

valuable signposts for directing readers through narrative action. For this reason it should not be surprising that reprints like Meighen's, which are prepared specifically with readers in mind, show concern for both speech prefixes and stage directions.

Close analysis of variant speech prefixes in all four plays shows a notable interest in making playtexts accessible to readers through perfection and standardisation of speech prefixes. Meighen's edition of *Michaelmas Term,* for example, has little evidence of the wide range of variation in the spelling of speech prefixes seen in many dramatic manuscripts. Instead, groups of speech prefixes in this quarto are standardised from multiple Q1 spellings to a couple of options that appear throughout Meighen's quarto. A representative example is found at signature F1r where the five prefixes for Mother Gruel in Q1 have four different spellings (*Grui.*, *Gruil.*, *Guil.*, *Gru.*) but in Q2 are all presented as "*Gruil.*" (lines 5, 10, 18, 26, 27).[27] The fact that one of these prefixes appears as the second speech on a line of shared dialogue (line 27) is an additional indicator of conscious focus, or what McKenzie describes as "planned rather than impromptu editing", of speech prefixes in this text ("Compositor B" 6). In this edition, a logical extension of the annotating reader's concern with clarifying character attributions is the perfecting of names in the playtext itself as in this example from 5.3.140:

> *Leth.* **Maiſter** Quomodo.
> *Toma.* Enquire my right name agen next time, (Q1, I3v,19-20)
>
> *Leth.* **Miſtris** Quomodo.
> *Toma.* Enquire my right name agen next time, (Q2, I3v, 19-20)

In this scene Andrew Lethe makes one of the rare references to Tomasine by her married name. This may account for the Q1 compositor thinking that Lethe meant to refer to "Maister" or Ephestian Quomodo, not his wife. However, Lethe's choice has special significance at this moment in the play as the judge has just declared, to Tomasine's dismay, that her marriage to Richard Easy is invalid and she is still, in fact, Mistris Quomodo. By correcting the reference to the proper character, Q2's agent anticipates the needs of future readers by demonstrating a level of attention to the play's action that is only possible from attentive reading.[28]

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[27] Additional examples in *Michaelmas Term* also include the consistent appearance of thirteen speech prefixes for Thomasine as "Toma." (5.1.61-134, sig. H4v-I1r) as well as extended revision against Q1 for Easy (Act 2.3.433-66, sig. D4v-E1r) and Leeth (3.1.263, sig. E4v).

[28] Additional examples of variants which repair character names in *Michaelmas Term* include: 3.1.289, 5.1.102, 4.1.45, 4.4.79, 5.3.140.

Cupid's Whirligig and *The Phoenix* also contain signs of annotator intervention with speech prefixes. In Meighen's edition of *Cupid's Whirligig,* two speech prefixes are added where they were missing in previous editions: for the Knight at 1.2.52 (sig. A4v, 22) and for Wages at 5.6.130 (sig. K4v, 13). Again, their insights are acknowledged by modern editors as following Middleton's original intentions. Meighen's quarto is also the first to catch that Master Exhibition's line addressing Lady Troublesome at 4.5.75 was mis-assigned to the Knight in all three previous editions, most likely as a reference to Sir Timothy Troublesome, who is not even present in the scene.[29] The annotating agent for *The Phoenix* likewise identifies a missing speech prefix at 10.41 and replaces the mis-set stage direction "Enter", which begins the line of dialogue, with the much needed speech prefix "*Latron*" (F1v, 38). He also re-assigns a speech prefix at 9.231 from the character Falso to his rival, the lawyer Tangle, in order to maintain the point/counterpoint of their duel of weapons and dialogue and is followed by both Brooks's and Danson/Kamps's editions. On the other hand, Q2's earlier change at 9.175-76 is not followed by modern editions because it copies Q1's incorrect splitting of Tangle's lines: "A *Latitat*, ſword and Dagger. A writ of Execution, Rapier and Dagger" between Tangle and Falso (9.175-76; Q2, E4r,18-19). However, where Q1 follows this with yet another line by Falso, Q2 noticed how the two consecutive line attributions interrupted the verbal exchange of the duel and corrected this by reassigning the next line to Tangle. In fact, in order to maintain this consistency, the editorial agent then adjusted the next four speech prefixes as well (9.179, 188, 192, 198). While these changes distort Middleton's original line assignments, they are not, as Brooks implies, "arbitrarily" reassigned (300). Rather, they are further evidence of an observant, extended intervention in speech prefixes that is repeated across Meighen's quarto repertoire.

The other type of theatrical feature typically addressed by annotating readers, stage directions, are also present in the Meighen quartos. Examples like *The Phoenix* scene 15.163 -164.1 show annotating agents focused on the clarification of character action.[30]

Phoen. Behold the Prince to approoue it. (Q1, I4r,11)
Phoe. Behold the Prince to approoue it **diſcouers himſelf.** (Q2, H4v, 19)

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[29] See also 2.4.77 which is discussed later in the chapter.

[30] An additional example of a variant stage direction showing evidence of annotating readers can be found in *Cupid's Whirligig* 5.3.81.

One of the few original additions to Q2, this variant is included in most modern editions. In *Thomas Middelton: The Collected Works*, Danson and Kamps keep the direction, but move it to after Phoenix's next line, making it correspond with Proditor's continued confusion after the Prince reveals his true identity:

> Phoenix: Behold the prince to approve it.
> Proditor: O, where?
> Phoenix: Your eyes keep with your actions, both look wrong.
> **[*discovering himself*]** (Danson 161-163.1).

The direction's problematic appearance in Q2 as part of the Prince's line may actually be indicative of the presence of an annotating reader as well as a compositor less knowledgable in the fictive world of the play. The addition of such a narrative stage direction is typical of the kind of agency we have seen in Hawkins's work, in that it draws from an awareness of the action of the scene. It is unlikely that the same agent who was so attentive to the "fictive world of the play" would then turn around and incorrectly include it as part of a character's line. In this way, this addition draws attention to the practical reality of printing house process in which multiple agents of varying abilities and focuses contribute to the textual transmission of this and the other three Meighen quartos.

The opening of 3.1 of *Michaelmas Term* demonstrates how attention to stage directions can be naturally paired with an interest in speech prefixes. Correcting the speech prefix from "*Coin*." to "*Com*." at 3.1.70 properly identifies the tyre-woman Mistress Comings who is fixing the hair of the dressed-up courtesan. Since there is no character named "Coin" anywhere in the play, this kind of error would likely be overlooked by a theatrical agent as incidental to managing a performance. However, if left in a reading text such a variant could be confusing to readers who, with no *dramatis personae* and no visual of who is actually on stage, rely heavily upon speech prefixes to lead them through the dialogue.

Such attention to detail is especially important in moments like 3.1.70, when new characters enter dialogue with no notice beyond the massed entry at the beginning of the scene. Correction of this speech prefix may have in turn led to this related addition to the opening direction for the scene:

Enter Lethes...and a ***Tyrewomen*** *buſie about her / head.* (Q1, E1v, 23,25)
Enter Lethes...and ***Miſtris Comings*** *a* ***Tyrewoman*** */ buſie about her head.* (Q2, E1v, 22)

What would seem an unnecessary or repetitive addition to a performance copy, in a reading text is again an indispensable signpost. Q2's addition provides an identifiable connection between the generic tyre-woman mentioned in the opening stage direction and the "*Com.*" of the speech prefixes, whose name is not spoken until the tailor's line at 3.1.22. By repairing Mistress Comings's speech prefix and adding her name to the mass entry, the editorial agent shows vigilant awareness of the literal "comings" and goings of the scene. John Cox similarly notes how speech prefixes can "reveal something about a character that a playgoer does not get" ("Editing Stage Directions" 188). For example, Cox asserts that representing Don John in *Much Ado About Nothing* through the prefix "John the Bastard" give readers insight into "Don Jon's social stigma much earlier in the play than a playgoer" ("Editing Stage Directions" 188). Moreover, by adding a detail that could only be acquired by going back and annotating the direction after reading, the textual agent in *Michaelmas Term* situates these variants within a conscious editorial project focused on making the quarto more accessible as a reading text.

4.3.c - The Annotating Reader in *The Merry Wives of Windsor (Q3)*

Thus far, evidence of reader intervention in clarifying dialogue, speech prefixes, and stage directions has confirmed Massai's parameters of annotator impact on printed playtexts. In addition to the variants already described, Meighen's edition of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (Q3) contains other textual characteristics that, when considered alongside the annotator intervention already described, suggest that additional care was taken with this particular quarto.

In terms of the total number of reassigned speech prefixes, the annotating agents who transmitted *Merry Wives* were less invasive than those who worked on the other three Meighen quartos. The single change to a speech prefix at 2.1.191 corrects F1's attribution of the line: "None, I proteſt, but ile giue you a pottle of burn'd ſacke" (sig C4r, 12) to Shallow by reassigning it to Ford. More significant in this edition are the extensive standardisations of prefixes throughout the quarto. The editorial agent(s) paid particular attention to the prefixes for the Mistresses and Masters Ford and Page. One prominent example, at the opening of 3.2, begins with an unusual dialogue between Mistress Page and Master Ford. Perhaps in response to this unique character

combination, the Q3 agent changes all the speech prefixes for Mistress Page in the scene from F1's ambiguous "*M. Pa.*" to "*Mis. Page*" (E3r, 22, 24, 28, 30 and E3v, 2). While such incidental changes would have little impact on performance, by further clarifying who is speaking they prevent readers from visualising Master Page before his actual entrance at 3.2.45. These variants are part of an extensive standardisation of F1's "*M.*" and "*Mist*" for Mistress to "*Mis.*" in sections throughout the entire quarto.[31] A similar practice is applied to the text itself where F1's abbreviations for "Mistress" or "Master" are consistently changed, with few exceptions.[32] This dissertation does not suggest that all variants and spellings of speech prefixes should be treated as such. It is only the existence of these variants within the collective editorial profile of this quarto and Meighen's larger repertoire of perfected copies which invites such a sensitive reading for Q3 *Merry Wives*. Concern for clear presentation of characters may also account for punctuation changes in the following mass entry directions.

3.4.01

Enter Fenton, ***Anne, Page,*** *Shallow, Slender, Quickly, Page, Mist. Page.* (F1 TLN 1567-68)

Enter Fenton, ***Anne Page,*** *Shallow, Slender, Quickly, Page, Mist. Page.* (Q3, F3r, 14-15)

1.4.01

Enter Miſtris Quickly, Simple, Iohn Rugby, ***Doctor, Caius,*** *Fenton.* (F1 TLN 398-99)

Enter Miſtris Quickly, Simple, Iohn Rugby, ***Doctor Caius****, Fenton.* (Q3, B3v, 2-3)

With Master, Mistress, and Anne Page all appearing in 3.4.01 a reader of the F1 direction might expect a new fourth Page to appear in the scene. Similar confusion is avoided by Q3's correction of the Folio's "Doctor, Caius" to "Doctor Caius". Since Caius is consistently referred to in speech prefixes as "Caius", the Folio's punctuation misleadingly offers an additional "Doctor" character. Handled with the same light touch as the speech prefixes, removing the unnecessary commas here might seem over zealous

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[31] See also: "Mi.", "M." or "Mist." to "Mis." C2r, lns. 12, 14, 16,19; C2v, 15, 17; C3r, 30; E4v, 3, 7, 10, 15, 18, 20, 21, 27, 32; F2r, 1, 9, 29, 30, 32, 34, 37; F2v 7, 11, 20, 37; G2v 15, 20, 26, 30; G4v 2, 13, 14, 19, 21, 24, 26, 28, 32, 34, 35; H1r, 1; H2r, 9, 11, 16, 18, 29, 30, 32, 34 and H2v 1. It is also an intriguing coincidence that, of the quarto's handful of truly substantive variants, three of the most interesting are lines related to the Mistresses (1.3.42, 2.2.186-9, and 2.2.276).

[32] There are eight examples of this on signature F4r alone. See also "Mr." or "M." to "Master" A3r, 2, 6, 8; A4r, 33, 36; E1r, "Sl." to "Slen." B1v, 1, 4, 11, 15, 21, 24, 26, 28, 31; "An." to "Anne." B1v 3; F3r 27, 35; F3v 11; F4r 24, 28.

by seventeenth century standards. Yet, alongside the collective textual variants of this quarto, these corrections correlate with the annotating agent's awareness of details only noticeable by and important for careful readers.[33] Typically it is difficult to ascribe significance to singular incidental changes like the variants in these two stage directions. However, the fact that both of these variants follow the speech prefixes in this quarto by focusing on character names, makes it reasonable to suggest that these variants are part of the same editorial project and perhaps even the work of the same annotating reader who performed the other detailed corrections in the quarto. It is as contributions to the larger editorial project of enhancing the virtual performance of *Merry Wives* that these otherwise incidental variants take on an identifiable contribution to the text. Furthermore, whether the work of a single or multiple agents, these examples reveal a level of conscious textual intervention in *Merry Wives* that goes beyond that of the annotating readers in Meighen's other 1630 quartos.[34]

For Richard Meighen, textual collaboration was an opportunity to engage with prospective readers as a publisher of commercial drama in consciously fashioned texts and paratexts. Through his dedications, short verse, and consistent identification in the imprints of his play quartos Meighen promoted himself as a publisher intent on engaging a specific class of educated readers near his shop at the Middle Temple Gate. Analysis of textual intervention in Meighen's four reprints: *The Merry Wives of Windsor, Cupid's Whirligig, The Phoenix,* and *Michaelmas Term* shows that he also offered his readers corrected and perfected editions of these plays. The variants from his dramatic publications examined in this section reveal intervention in speech prefixes, stage directions, and dialogue consistent with the presence of annotating readers suggesting that Meighen was invested enough in printed drama in general to procure annotated copies for the press. While not directly comparable to the variants seen in Hawkins's Q2 *Othello*, all four of Meighen's quartos show particular interest in further correcting and perfecting the virtual performance of these playtexts. In particular, the numerous visual cognates in *Michaelmas Term* and the standardisation of names and speech prefixes in *The*

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[33] Further evidence of careful reading may be found in the non-variants involving lines spoken by foreign characters. While misspellings of common words are frequently corrected throughout Meighen's repertoire, the unique misspellings meant to represent the foreign accents of the Welshman Sir Hugh Evans and Doctor Caius the French physician are faithfully reproduced from the First Folio copytext in Q3. It should not be taken for granted that these linguistic flourishes are naturally preserved in the quarto. Black and Shaaber observe that the corrector of F2, who they cite as Shakespeare's first editor, frequently repairs Evans's broken English as if unawares that it serves a specific function in the text (209-10). Added to the collective perfecting and correcting of *Merry Wives* described above, the preservation of these details provides further evidence of Meighen's interest in publishing perfected and accurate texts.

[34] At the same time, they diagnose a key problem with the Folio copytext: that readers would have difficulty distinguishing between the multiple Fords and Pages.

Merry Wives of Windsor make significant contributions to the virtual performance of their quartos suggesting that the copytext was edited with readers in mind. Thus, in addition to offering an example of active stationer intervention in reprints of commercial drama, Meighen's quartos offer another example of reprints of Jacobean plays being refined and enhanced for Caroline reading. With the character of collective annotation in each quarto markedly different, it is reasonable to conclude that, unlike Hawkins's repertoire, these texts were not annotated by the same agent or group of agents. This knowledge allows for a broader understanding of the intervention possible in an annotated text by pointing out that all annotating readers, like all printers, publishers, and playwrights, do not work under a standard set of rules. However, Meighen and his annotating agents do share an interest in producing quality reading texts that, as with Hawkins, is expressed in co-operative textual intervention with playwrights work.

Part 2: John Smethwick

4.4 A Shakespearean Repertoire

The final member of the Fleet Street Syndicate, the publisher/bookseller John Smethwick, was the most senior of the syndicate members. He took his freedom from the Stationers' Company in January 1597 and, over the course of his career, would work his way up the ranks of the Company filling ever more important administrative roles including auditing the company's English stock, ruling on suits amongst Company members, approving assigns of titles, serving as junior, then senior warden, and finally Master of the Company (Jackson, *Court* 48, 70,90, 192, 210, 214, 224, 246, 291, 299, 320; Arber IV. 23-24, 257, 343, 472). Smethwick also held numerous administrative roles at the church of St. Dunstan's in the West, the location of his bookstall and where he was also a member of the parish. In 1628 he took on the role of senior churchwarden, a position which entitled him to a seat in one of the new pews recently erected in the chancel (Bald 71). With Smethwick's role in the governing of St. Dunstan's, his multiple posts in the Stationers' Company, and his stall's gate-keeping position "vnder the Dyall" of St. Dunstan's, Smethwick's position in the institutional circles in which he moved begins to resonate with his position as first named publisher on the F2 colophon.

In addition to his managerial roles within the Stationers' Company, Smethwick was an active publisher/bookseller in his own right. He took on several apprentices over the course of his career including William White (Arber II, 226). Smethwick was also a contemporary and frequent collaborator with William Stansby whom Smethwick would regularly employ to print his editions.[35] Smethwick had an extensive publication record of Shakespeare in both folio and quarto that began in November 1607 when Smethwick was assigned the rights to numerous literary and dramatic titles previously belonging to the prolific Elizabethan stationer, Nicholas Ling (Arber III, 365). In this one transaction, Smethwick became the owner of a collection of literary works including Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynde* or *Euphues Golden Legacy* as well as works by Robert Green, Thomas Nashe, Anthony Munday and Michael Drayton (Arber III, 365). At the same time, Smethwick also inherited four Shakespeare plays: "A booke called Hamlett", "The taminge of A Shrewe", "Romeo and Julett", and "Loues Labour Lost" (Arber III, 365). With the exception of one other play, Jonson's *Every Man Out of his Humor,* which Smethwick never published independently, the four plays would comprise Smethwick's entire dramatic repertoire for the next twenty-eight years (1609-1637). Typically, five titles in thirty years would not signal exceptional interest in dramatic publication. However, Smethwick's overall output provides a different impression. Smethwick published *Romeo and Juliet* for the first time in 1609 (STC 22324, Q3) and then went on to publish a second quarto in 1623 (STC 22325, Q4), and a third in 1637 (STC 22326, Q5).[36] Smethwick's first publication of *Hamlet* was the third edition published in 1611, (STC 22277, Q3) followed by Q4 in 1625 (STC 22278) and Q5 in the same year as *Romeo and Juliet* in 1637 (STC 22279). In 1631, Smethwick would expand his publication repertoire, offering the first quarto of *Love's Labor's Lost* in over thirty years (STC 22295, Q2) and the first ever quarto of *The Taming of the Shrew* (STC 22327, Q1).[37] Holding his titles throughout the 1620s and 1630s made Smethwick one of only two stationers involved in the publication of both the 1623 and 1632 Shakespeare Folios, a unique

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[35] Including Michael Drayton's *Poems* (STC 7220, 1610), (STC 7223, 1620), Robert Greene's *Arcadia* (STC 12274, 1610), (STC 12275, 1616), *Ciceronis amor. Tullies Love* (STC 12228, 1609), (STC12229, 1611)(STC 12231, 1628), and *Greene's Never too Late* (STC 12255.5, [1611]),(STC 12256, 1616), (STC 12258, 1631), as well as Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet [1623].* In October 1628 the two men were appointed to represent the Company at the Lord Mayor's feast (Arber III, 691).

[36] See R. Carter Hailey "The Dating Game: New Evidence for the Dates of Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* and Q4 *Hamlet*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58 (2007): 367-87 especially page 372.

[37] I agree with Barbara Hodgdon that the similarities in plot and character of *A Shrew* and *The Shrew* meant Smethwick had the printing rights to both, but that they are in fact different enough to be considered two separate plays (2010: 9-11). (See also Blayney "Publication" 399, Greg "Bibliography" 1.33). As such, Smethwick's 1631 quarto, which follows F1's *"The Shrew"* is the first quarto of that play and is identified as Q1 throughout this dissertation.

cross-over role that will be discussed in more detail shortly.[38] In short, although narrow, Smethwick's dramatic output denotes him as a central figure of Shakespeare publication.

Title pages from Smethwick's quartos of *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* also suggest that the stationer's interests extended beyond publication into active textual intervention. Q3 (1609), Q4 (1623), Q5 (1637) of *Romeo and Juliet* are all marketed after Q2 (1599) as "*Newly Corrected augmented, and amended*". Possibly in response to the omissions in the 1603 Q1, Smethwick's Q3 *Hamlet* (1611) echoed Q2 (1604) by promising to be "Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect copy". Similarly, the post-Folio quartos of *Hamlet* (1625 Q4 and 1637 Q5) temptingly suggest a connection to the recently published Folios as "Newly imprinted and inlarged, according to the true / and perfect Copy laſtly Printed" (Q4).[39] Apart from these title pages, there is little paratextual evidence documenting Smethwick's approach to dramatic publication. Sonia Massai suggests Smethwick as the "printer" of an unsigned dedication in his edition of William Burton's translation of *Seauen Dialogues* (STC 10458a). In addition to assuming the traditional role of the printer and taking responsibility for "faults" arising from "difficulty of copie" the unnamed stationer is aware of details surrounding how the copy was acquired: "he [the translator] being both abſent, and vnacquainted with the ſodaine publication of his booke" (A4v, 3-5). A publisher would be more likely to know such information, Massai argues, than a printer (*Rise* 173-4). Even if this dedication is Smethwick's it provides little insight into the stationer's approach to publication beyond the conventional proviso for errata. However, previous textual studies of Smethwick's 1611 and 1623 editions of *Romeo and Juliet,* show Smethwick sharing Meighen and Hawkins's interest in correcting and perfecting dramatic quartos. Lynette Hunter (2001) and Sonia Massai (2007) describe Smethwick's *Romeo and Juliet* quartos as "intelligently edited" (Hunter 9; Massai *Rise* 174). Hunter's study of the textual variants across the first four quartos of *Romeo and Juliet* (1597,1599,1611,1623) and the First Folio asserts that changes to Q3 and Q4 suggest a single annotator who made further corrections to each publication using a combination of personal knowledge of the theatre and previous editions (19). Massai similarly sees patterns of perfecting and correcting that depict Smethwick as a procurer of annotated copy who "valu[ed] the progressive improvement of ... texts" (*Rise* 179).

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[38] The other was William Aspley.

[39] Q5 reads "Newly imprinted and inlarged, according to the true / and perfect Copy laſt Printed."

However, observing "a different quality of intervention in Q3 and Q4 *Romeo and Juliet*", Massai challenges Hunter's conclusion of a single annotator for both editions (*Rise* 176). For example, Massai notes how changes to the dialogue in Q4 "reveals the intervention of a shrewder annotator than the dialogue in Q3" (*Rise* 176). Furthermore, Massai posits that it is "difficult to imagine why the same annotator would have missed so many opportunities to improve not only the dialogue, but also stage directions and speech prefixes in the earlier edition, which were then duly rectified in the later one" (*Rise* 176). Thus, Massai concludes that instead of one agent working on both texts, Smethwick "relied on the collaboration of annotating readers" (*Rise* 179). Massai's conclusion offers the possibility that, rather than retain the services of a single annotating agent, Smethwick engaged annotators to rework his copies on an edition by edition basis. The impact of this conclusion on Smethwick's work as a co-operative textual collaborator is further explored in the study of Smethwick's editions of *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Love's Labour's Lost* that follow.

4.5 - Textual Intervention in *The Taming of the Shrew* (Q1) and *Love's Labour's Lost* (Q2)

To say that Smethwick's edition of *The Taming of the Shrew* challenges the patterns of textual intervention seen in his other quartos seems an understatement. Where Hunter and Massai see variants in Q3 and especially Q4 *Romeo* showing "initiative" in perfecting metrically irregular lines, "unimaginative remedial" phrases, and demonstrating a "more developed sense of the text as a theatrical script", the collective variants in Smethwick's *Taming* appear more concerned with reproducing the folio text with most of its substantive faults intact (Massai *Rise* 176, 177). The quarto faithfully transmits obvious inconsistencies arising from the F1 copytext's origins as a theatrical transcript. Most notably the quarto retains the speech prefix "*Sincklo*." (Induction 1.87, A3r, 28) which John Dover Wilson matched to the player John Sincler (Hodgdon 29).[40] While Q1's inclusion of all the descriptive stage directions that appear in F1 might suggest an interest in offering readers as detailed a text as possible, the quarto also faithfully repeats F1's many omissions of entry and exit directions. In this way, the collation evidence resists the idea of an annotating agent concerned with clarifying one of the primary

[40] A useful discussion of the F1's copytext can be found in Ann Thompson's New Cambridge edition of the play (156-164, 173-74).

elements associated with virtual performance.[41] The most active example of this is also indicative of the kinds of variants seen in the few instances where Q1 departs from its F1 copytext. The mass entry at 1.1.47 is the first entrance of Baptista, his daughters, and the original suitors Hortensio and Gremio for which F1 offers:

> *Enter Baptiſta* ***with*** *his two daughters, Katerina & Bianca,*
> *Gremio a Pantelowne,* ***Hortentio ſiſter to Bianca****.*
> *Lucen. Tranio, ſtand by.* [42]

The obvious problem with "*Hortentio ſiſter to Bianca*" and the truncated and poorly punctuated "*Lucen. Tranio, ſtand by*" are the kinds of textual confusions repeatedly addressed by annotating agents throughout this study. Here, however, Q1 presents the same direction as:

> *Enter Baptiſta* ***with and*** *his two daughters, Katerina* **[ ]***Bianca,*
> *Gremio a Pantelowne, Hortentio* ***ſiſter to Bianca****.*
> *Lucan Tranio, ſtand by.* (B2v, 7-9)

Not only does the Q1 direction fail to address F1's "*Hortentio ſiſter to Bianca*", it introduces some glaring new typographical errors. It is hard to believe that even the most casual annotating reader would, in the simple process of annotating the play, not perfect such a glaring confusion. Other variants resulting in changes to meaning or syntax similarly suggest lack of familiarity with the play's action including Q1's changing of F1's "ſiſter Kate, **vntie** my hands" to "ſiſter Kate **vnite** my hands" (2.1.21, D1r, 22), Hortensio's "I **will not** beare theſe braues of thine" to "I **will** beare theſe braues of thine" (3.1.15, E2v, 25), and Petruchio describing Bianca as "The Spouſe of any noble **Gentleman**" to "The Spouſe of any noble **Gentlewoman**" (4.5.68, H4r, 16).[43] These examples suggest that, unlike Massai's "shrewd" annotator of Q4 *Romeo,* if Smethwick did in fact employ an annotating agent for *The Shrew*, he did not demonstrate even a cursory knowledge of the play (*Rise* 176).

In spite of an apparent lack of interest in the particulars of the play itself, there are Q1 variants that do offer reasonable alternative readings. Q1's change at 2.1.150

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[41] Entry directions missing from F1 and Q1 include: Hortensio 2.1.38.2 (D1v, 6), Kate, Petruchio, and Hortensio 5.2 (I2r, 14-17). Exit directions missing from F1 and Q1 include: Kate 2.1.36 (D1v, 2), Servant, Lucentio, Hortensio, and Biodello 2.1.109 (D2v, 4), Lucentio (4.4.106, H3r, 18).

[42] All act, scene, line divisions follow Barbara Hodgdon's Arden 3 edition of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

[43] Emphasis mine. Also "as you draw **your** bow" to "as you draw **my** bow" (5.2.48, I2v, 32) and "is it not newes to **heare**" to "is it not newes to **heard**" (3.2.33, E4r, 24).

from Kate being described as having a "**moſt** impatient diuelliſh ſpirit" to her having a "**moiſt** impatient diuelliſh ſpirit" (D3r, 8) conjures images of unruly behaviour in a manner similar to Hawkins's preferences for *lectio difficilior* in Q2 *Othello*.[44] At line 2.1.218 Barbara Hodgdon accepts Q1's change of "tales" to "tailes" as an acceptable pun in the context of Kate and Petruchio's discussion of "where a Waſpe does weare his ſting" (2.1.214):

> *Pet.* Whoſe tongue?
> *Kate.* Yours if you talke of **tailes**, and ſo farewell. (D3v, 39 - D4r, 1).[45]

A point decidedly in its favour, the quarto improves upon the numerous dropped words that are a noticeable feature of the F1 text of *The Shrew*. In her New Cambridge Edition of the play, Ann Thompson noted these omissions "as uncommonly high in *The Shrew* when we compare it to other [F1] plays" and as important evidence of the copytext's condition as a "hurried transcript" (158).[46] However, the quarto introduces almost as many new instances of dropped words in its own right, including missing "be" in the very last line of the play: "ſhe will **be** tam'd ſo" (I4v, 31).[47] Unlike similar variants in *Othello* and the other Hawkins texts discussed in Chapter Three, none of the dropped words in Smethwick's quarto suggest an attempt to correct unmetrical lines.

The quarto does, however, contain a small collection of what might be best described as co-operative variants. While not demonstrating the initiative or dynamic impact of substantive variants seen in other quartos studied in this dissertation, they still contribute to practices of perfecting and correcting traditionally attributed to non-authorial agents. The quarto makes several spelling corrections which are accepted by most modern editions. For example: changing F1's "od" to "old" (E4v, 16), "hether" to "hither" (D3v, 15), "thy" to "the" (D1r, 27), "ſtreers" to "ſtreets" (C4r, 26), "Sies" to "*Slies*" (A4r, 25), and "leaſt" to "leſt" (I1r, 36). These changes also include a handful of corrections to character names including "Gabrels" to "Gabriels" (F4r, 37) and repeated, though not consistent, changes throughout of F1's "Hortentio" to the traditionally accepted spelling "Hortensio". But perhaps the most prominent feature of

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[44] The variant is also reminiscent of Othello's depiction of Desdemona's hand as "hot, hot and moist" being a reflection of her supposedly lustful nature (3.4.39).

[45] An additional variant that seems to draw on local context changes F1's "**the** instrument" to "**your** instrument" (E2v, 31).

[46] Instances of Q1 inserting short words into the F1 copytext include: "Lord[ship]" (Induction 2.2, A4r, 10), "I Pray [you] are not" (1.2.231, C4r, 26), "pray [you] accept" (2.1.82, D2r, 14).

[47] Instances of Folio words dropped in Q: "will [not] beare" (E2v, 25), "seen [him] though" (E4r, 15), "he [is] more" (F3v, 32), "Oh no [good] Kate" (4.3.178, H1v, 10), "was [well] beloved" (H4v, 17).

the cumulative variants in this quarto is sustained attention to specific incidental spellings that are emended with the same precision with which the Folio's misnomers are replicated. For instance, with one exception, all ampersands in the Folio text are replaced with "and" in the quarto. As with other moments of textual intervention in this quarto, this attention can generate new typographical errors. In the mass stage direction from 1.1.47 discussed above, misplacement of the "and" meant to replace the "&" between "Katerina & Bianca" produces the "with and" error in Q1's version of the stage direction. The most consistent spelling changes react to F1's shortening of particular words, which was probably part of the Folio compositors' efforts to fit text into the shortened lines of F1's double columns. As a result, "me" in F1 becomes "mee" in Q1 (fourteen of sixteen occurrences), "wil" to "will" (17 times), "shal" to "shall" (16 times) as well as multiple changes of "we" to "wee", "wel" to "well", and "he" to "hee".[48] The one exception to this is the word "little" which is corrected in Q1 to "litle" in all seven of its appearances in the text. In this way, it becomes apparent that in spite of Q1's shortage of substantial variants, conscious textual parameters were at work during the transmission of this text. However, since these accidental variants are the most plentiful and arguably the most successful variants in Q1, and the variants which might suggest an annotated reader are so small in number and of such low quality, it seems unlikely that the textual intervention in Q1 *Shrew* was the work of an annotating reader specifically employed to further perfect the text. The cumulative focus of these variants on accidentals and particularly matters of spelling preference, strongly suggest that rather than an annotating reader, the variants probably were the work of a compositor in William Stansby's printing house.

Smethwick's 1631 quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost* also challenges the presumption that Smethwick obtained newly annotated copy for every publication.[49] Like *Taming*, the quarto is based on F1 and is successful, often to a fault, at reproducing its text and typography. For example, Q2 is careful to copy F1's more "literary" setting of Berowne, Dumaine, and Longaville's sonnets indented from the rest of the dialogue in italic font (E1r, E3r, E3v-E4r). At the same time, wrongly attributed speech prefixes are faithfully transferred even for speeches where an agent has made a beneficial change. For example, at 2.1.179, Q2's change "Lady, I will commend you to **mine** owne heart" (C2v, 8) offers an acceptable alternative to F1's "Lady, I will commend you to **my**

[48] There are also a substantial number of instances where Q1 drops the medial commas appearing in F1.

[49] Act/Line/Scene numbers for *Love's Labour's Lost* refer to H.R. Woudhuysen's Arden 3 edition.

owne heart". However, while making this adjustment the annotator missed the more pressing problem that F1 attributes this speech to "Boy." (Moth) when modern editors agree that the line is actually spoken by Berowne. The quarto does exceed *Taming* in terms of co-operative textual variants that contribute to early modern standards of perfecting and correcting. Amidst the numerous small adjustments to spelling there are a handful of substantive emendations which offer reasonable alternate readings including: Q2's change of F1's "cupplement" to "complement" (5.2.529, H4v, 36) , "oaths" to "oath" (5.2.356, H2v, 2) and the synonym "illuſtrious" over F1's "illluſtrate" in Don Armado's description of "The magnanimous / & moſt illuſtrious King *Cophetua*" (4.1.65-66, D3r, 22-3).[50] A change at 5.2.385 is a rare example of a variant that clearly corrects the grammar of the line:

> *Rof.* Which of the Vizards **what** it that you wore? (F1 TLN 2313)
> *Rof.* Which of the Vizards **was** it that you wore? (Q2, H2v, 33).[51]

Attempts to correct spellings of proper names are more extensive in *Love's Labour's Lost* than in Smethwick's quarto of *The Shrew.* The quarto offers variant spellings of "Adriano" for F1's "Adriana" (4.1.86, D3v, 2), "*Ouidius Naſo*" for "*Ouiddius Naſo*" (4.2.123, E2r, 4), "Dumaine" for "*Dumane*" (4.3.97.1, E3v, 31), "*Berownes*" for "*Berowns*" (4.3.199, F1r, 24), "*Bacchus*" for "*Bachus*" (4.3.313, F3r, 10), and "*Maccabeus*" for "*Machabeus*" (5.1.119, G1r, 16). The majority of these are accepted by modern editions and are the first such appearances of these spellings in seventeenth century editions of the play. The quarto has similar success adjusting spellings of foreign words including "*gaudeo*" instead of "*gaudio*" (5.1.30, F4r, 13), "*pueritia*" instead of "*puericia*" (5.1.46, F4r, 28) and "*ſapit*" instead of "*ſapis*" (4.2.78, E1v, 3) all of which are adopted by most modern editions.

While the quarto demonstrates adequate and at times more sophisticated correction of accidental variants, there is little evidence to suggest the presence of an annotating reader. In fact, the handful of substantive variants tend to suggest the opposite.

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[50] This example challenges the assertions of modern editors like R.W. David who insist that as early as 1526 "illustrate" was common in the works of "good English writers" (63). The existence of this variant shows its use was considered awkward by at least one reader in 1631.

[51] Additional examples of simple changes to spelling and contractions that do not change meaning of the line include: F1's "y^t" to Q2's "that" (4.3.48, E3r, 14), "achademe" to "Academe" (1.1.13, A2r, 18), "couercame" to "ouercame" (4.1.70, D3r, 27), "oth" to "oath" (4.3.246, F1v, 36), "Leege" to "Leige" (4.3.294, F2v, 30), "crake" to "cracke" (4.3.264, F2r, 15), "barraine" to "barren" (4.3.299, F2v, 35), "ortagriphie" to "ortographie" (5.1.19, F4r, 3).

> A withered Hermite, fiueſcore winters worne,
> Might ſhake **off** fiftie, looking in her eye : (F1 TLN 1591-92)
>
> A withered Hermite, fiueſcore winters worne,
> Might ſhake **of** fifty, looking in her eye : (Q2, F1v, 28-29).

Q2's change to Berowne's lines at 4.3.238-9 from the hermit shaking "off fiftie" years to shaking "of fifty" reveals an agent inattentive to the image of Roslyn's beauty as having the ability to "varniſh Age".[52] But the most telling example of an agent unmindful of the "fictive world of the play" is the stage direction at 4.1.147. Costard's speech at the end of 4.1 *Love's Labour's Lost* concludes with the stage direction "*Shout within*" (4.1.147). In the F1 and Q1 texts this direction appears after Costard's exit and is centred on its own line just before the beginning of 4.2. Most modern editions retain the direction, preferring to reposition "shout within" so it immediately follows Costard's speech, creating overlapping transitional action from this scene to the entrance of Dull, Holofernes, the Pedant, and Nathaniel in the next scene. Q2 retains the F1/Q1 placement after Costard's exit and the typographical centring of its F1 copytext. However, Q2 also mistakes the line set in roman type for misspelled text and using a visual cognate sets the line as dialogue. The result brings Costard back to the stage to deliver one last line: "Shoote with him." (D4r, 35).[53] (See Figure 4.4) Heedless of both the "fictive world of the play" and theatrical conventions for entrances and exits, this variant contradicts the attention to the play's action seen in the variants of annotated readers in other quartos studied in this dissertation. Collectively, such variants further characterise the textual intervention in the quarto as a whole as focused on localised interpretations that produce variants more in tune with the work of transmission than annotation.

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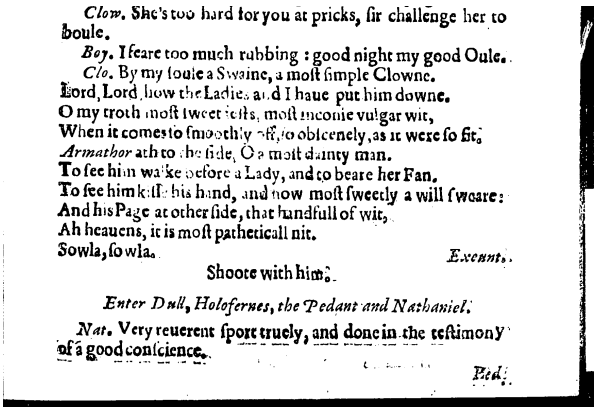
[52] "Varnish" being a synonym for "vanish". An additional example is Q2's change of F1's "For feare their colours" to "For feare her coulours" at 4.3.267 (F2r, 17-18), which disrupts the pronoun agreement between "Mistresses" and "their".

[53] This line might have been interpreted as a kind of exclamation regarding Moth, who he describes in the previous lines. It might also be referring back to Boyet and how Costard believes he and the ladies "have put him down" (4.1.140).



Clow. She's too hard for you at pricks, sir challenge her to boule.
Boy. I feare too much rubbing : good night my good Oule.
Clo. By my foule a Swaine, a most simple Clowne.
Lord, Lord, how the Ladies and I haue put him downe.
O my troth most sweet iests, most incony vulgar wit,
When it comes so smoothly off, so obscenely, as it were so fit.
Armathor ath to the side, O a most dainty man.
To see him walke before a Lady, and to beare her Fan.
To see him kisse his hand, and how most sweetly a will sweare:
And his Page at other side, that handfull of wit,
Ah heauens, it is most patheticall nit.
Sowla, sowla. *Exeunt.*
Shoote with him.
Enter Dull, Holofernes, the Pedant and Nathaniel.
Nat. Very reuerent sport truely, and done in the testimony of a good conscience.
Ped.

Figure 4.4 "Shoot with him." dialogue from *Love's Labour's Lost* Q2 (D4r, 35).

Based on this evidence, any annotating done to the F1 copytexts for Smethwick's new quartos was cursory at best. The varying quality of emendations in *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Love's Labour's Lost* does support Massai's assertion that Smethwick did not employ the same annotating agent for all his dramatic publications. At the same time, lower overall quality of variants in the two quartos is not consistent with the textual intervention identified by Massai and Hunter as the work of annotating readers in Q3 and Q4 *Romeo and Juliet*. As such, this research further qualifies Massai's conclusion that Smethwick "regularly" sought annotated copy by specifying that "regularly" did not mean every edition.[54]

Unlike his syndicate colleagues Meighen and Hawkins, Smethwick did not use freshly annotated copy for his pre-F2 quartos. However, other patterns within Smethwick's publication practice suggest that the stationer was interested in offering perfected copies of these Shakespeare plays. While Q3 and Q4 *Romeo* are advertised as "Newly Corrected, augmented, and amended", the title page for neither *The Taming of the Shrew* nor *Love's Labour's Lost* make similar claims. At the same time, this does not necessarily mean that Smethwick intentionally offered his clientele lesser quartos of *Shrew* and particularly *Love's Labour's Lost*. This research has noted how the most prominent aspect of the editorial character of these two quartos may be their adherence to their F1 copytexts. While origins of the F1 copy for *Shrew* are highly speculative, the F1 copy for *Love's Labour's Lost* is thought to derive from a combination of Q1 and a

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[54] Although outside the scope of this dissertation, in future revision of this work I will consider the textual intervention of Smethwick's Q5 *Romeo and Juliet* as well as his editions of *Hamlet* to see whether they coincide with his early work on *Romeo* or his later publications of *Shrew* and *Love's Labours*.

theatrical manuscript (Woudhuysen *Love's Labour's* 329).[55] Henry Woudhuysen notes amongst the copytext's features "a certain number of stage directions that have been altered significantly" and a handful of attempts at "consistent presentation of speech prefixes" (*Love's Labour's* 329-30). Even if, as Woudhuysen reminds us, some of these changes are unsuccessful, the intervention which fostered them is nevertheless indicative of textual intervention (*Love's Labour's* 330). Furthermore, as owner of the rights to *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Love's Labour's Lost* before, during, and after F1's publication, Smethwick was probably aware of the origins and intervention involved in preparation of the copytexts for the First Folio. For this reason, he may have considered the annotating that went into F1 sufficient for creating his 1631 quartos. The fact that Q2 *Love's Labour's Lost* derives from the existing Folio rather than an existing quarto, which would have been mechanically simpler to reset, further supports the possibility that Smethwick may have considered F1 to be the "better" text to such an extent that it was worth paying for the extra work to have it recast and set as a quarto.[56] If this was in fact the case, then Smethwick's publication choices still demonstrate the co-operative interaction of a textual collaborator by reflecting an interest in presenting the best available text to his readers.

The quartos published by Hawkins, Meighen, and Smethwick between 1630-31 offer considerable evidence that publishers of commercial drama at this time were committed to offering their readers good-quality, perfected playbooks. Like their Elizabethan and Jacobean predecessors examined in previous chapters, the work of these Caroline stationers is focused on expressing the performative capabilities of plays within the pages of a book. However, for these publishers, this purpose has expanded from isolated moments of textual performance to extensive intervention motivated by the belief that the experience of reading a play may be just as profound as seeing a play. Individually, Hawkins, Meighen, and Smethwick's approaches to textual intervention provide diverse profiles of the distinctive contributions of publisher agents in the period. For Hawkins, the wealth of material in the Q and F *Othello* texts was an opportunity to study and then convert the instability of theatrical production into a conceptual preservation of Shakespeare's work. For Meighen, annotating readers elevated his texts to the stylised level expected by his "ingenious" readers and positioned him as an active

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[55] See also Stanley Wells, "The copy for the Folio text of *Love's Labour's Lost*" *RES* 33(1982): 137-47.

[56] It is worth remembering at this point that when similarly faced with an F and Q text to choose from for his reprint of *Othello*, Hawkins chose the simpler process of setting Q2 from the Q1 rather than resetting F in quarto form.

agent of commercial drama in print. For Smethwick, over three decades in the book trade revealed an instinct for the right balance of quality, expediency, and novelty required to repeatedly entice readers of commercial drama. Collectively, Hawkins, Meighen and Smethwick demonstrate the varied, active, and co-operative engagement of stationers with the work of early modern playwrights, once again showing early modern publishers as vital contributors to the fashioning of Shakespeare's plays in print.

Part 3:
Collaboration in the Marketplace - Shakespeare and The Fleet Street Syndicate

While Hawkins, Meighen, and Smethwick's quartos share an interest in dramatic publication, their impact on the market for Shakespeare in print is most fully realised when their publications are considered collectively. With Smethwick at his stall in "Saint Dunstones Churchyard vnder the Diall', Meighen "next to the Middle-Temple Gate" and Hawkins "neere Sargeant's Inn", the three stationers were nearly within shouting distance of each other in the heart of the Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery area. Their link to this location provides a significant context within which to consider their quartos of *Love's Labour's Lost, The Taming of the Shrew, The Merry Wives of Windsor,* and *Othello* as a co-operative influence on the local market for Shakespeare in print. This final section considers how, in addition to the conscious textual fashioning discussed above, these quartos appealed to the professionals and students of the Inns and how this collective publication offers insights into Shakespeare in this early modern marketplace.

4.6 - Shakespeare "Vnder the Dyall" and at the "Temple Gate":
John Smethwick and Richard Meighen

Located in the churchyard of St. Dunstan's in the West, Smethwick's bookstall was one of many concentrated in and around the churchyard affectionately described by R.C. Bald as a "little St. Paul's" (69). Situated on the edge of Fleet Street, St. Dunstan's churchyard gave booksellers frontage to the main thoroughfare linking the City of London with the centre of Government at Whitehall and Westminster (Bald 70). In the St. Dunstan's churchyard Smethwick's stall is consistently described as being "vnder the Dyall", a reference to the large gnomon, or shadow casting device, which projected out

from the wall of the church essentially turning the entire side of the building into a giant sun dial. Being "vnder the Dyall" also put Smethwick's book stock right beside the main entrance of the church giving the stationer a prime location for displaying his wares to parish members. Just who these members were might be inferred from a quick look at St. Dunstan's neighbors. Immediately to the north stood Clifford's Inn, a residence John Stow described as "let to the said students for four pounds by the year" (331). Just to the west and around the corner from St. Dunstan's on Chancery Lane was the prestigious Sergeants' Inn, where Hawkins had his bookstall from approximately 1613 (STC 4613) to approximately 1636. The Sergeants' Inn was an exclusive residence and working space "for judges and sergeants only" (Stow 83).[57] Opposite St. Dunstan's on the other side of Fleet Street stood the Inner and Middle Temples, both houses of court whose halls regularly staged plays for their members, most notably the performance of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* in the Middle Temple Hall on 2 February, 1602 (Manningham 48). Beyond this famous performance the Middle and Inner Temples were the location of regular theatrical entertainments by companies of professional players including regular performances by the King's Men (Goldring 312).[58] Meighen was no doubt aware of the Temples' association with commercial theatre when he set up shop just outside the Middle Temple Gate in 1630, the same year he published *The Phoenix, Michaelmas Term, Cupid's Whirligig,* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Located in the judicial heart of early modern London, Smethwick, Hawkins and Meighen's clientele was no doubt comprised of members of the surrounding Inns whose penchant for the commercial theatre was surely a motivation for the Fleet Street Quartos of 1630-31.

However, Smethwick and Meighen's quartos of *Merry Wives, The Taming of the Shrew,* and *Love's Labour's Lost* were not the stationers' first associations with commercial drama published in the Inns area. The collaboration of Ben Jonson and William Stansby on the publication of *The Workes of Beniamin Jonson* (1616, STC 14752) is well documented. Less well-known are the roles that Richard Meighen and John Smethwick played in this publication, particularly in situating it in the Inns area. Both stationers assert their textual authority in this edition in readily visible ways. For instance, each of

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[57] Hawkins's last publication according to the STC was a reprint of Joseph Hall's *The olde religion* (STC 12691.5) in 1636. On 6 June 1637 Ursula Hawkins transferred her rights to Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* to the stationer William Leake (Arber IV, 385). In an entry dated 29 May 1638 Hawkins is described as "deceased" and Hawkins's widow Ursula transferred her rights to twenty-five titles to the Master stationers Richard Mead and Christopher Meredith (Arber IV, 420).

[58] Goldring records between February 1629 and November 1632 five performances at the Inner and Middle Temples (four and one respectively), of these four were by the King's Men (312).

the nine plays included in the *Workes* begins with its own title page. Of the nine only two of the title pages name a publisher: *Poetaster* owned by the stationer Matthew Lownes (Greg 186b(*)and 186†) and *Every Man Out of His Humour* published for John Smethwick (Greg 163d(†) and 163d(§)).[59] The exact date that Smethwick obtained the rights to Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humor* is unclear, though it may have been part of the extensive transfer of titles from Nicholas Ling on 19 November 1607 (Arber III, 365). Unlike Smethwick's Shakespearean plays which he published regularly throughout his career, Smethwick never republished *Every Man Out* after its appearance in Jonson's collection.[60] While limited publishing might suggest disinterest in Jonson's play, the title page and paratext of *Every Man Out* offer several details that document Smethwick's textual authority and indicate subsequent interest in this edition. Described in the imprint as "Printed by *W. Stansby* / for *I. Smithwicke*", this edition already presents Smethwick as more active in the process than his syndicate colleagues who remained anonymous on the title pages of their plays.

Further intervention is also found in the design of Smethwick's title page which is dominated by an elaborate woodcut border reminiscent of the main title page for the collection. Such detail for an individual title page was not standard practice in this collection. For example, Stansby's text-only title page for his copies of *Every Man Out,* is Spartan in comparison.(See Figure 4.5) That the more elaborate page only appears in Smethwick's edition suggests that the idea, and perhaps even the woodcut itself, came at the behest of Smethwick himself.[61] Smethwick's interest in this publication can also be linked to the epistle Jonson added to *Every Man Out* specifically for this edition. Dedicated "TO THE NOBLEST / NOVRCERIES OF HVMA- / NITY, AND LIBERTY, IN THE KINGDOME. / The Innes of Court." (G2), Jonson's epistle is explicitly aimed at Smethwick's principal market. In this way, Smethwick's textual authority stands out amongst the multiple agents involved with the *Workes* and Smethwick should be acknowledged as an active textual agent in one of the first folio collections to include commercial drama. Moreover, the epistle in Smethwick's edition of *Every Man Out* once again links Smethwick's dramatic publication with the Inns of

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[59] According to Bald, Lownes also had a shop in St. Dunstan's Churchyard from 1591 to 1625 (70).

[60] Smethwick's elaborate title page for *Every Man Out* leaves open the possibility that, like the Pavier quartos, the text was published with the intention of selling it both as part of Jonson's collection and an individual quarto (see Massai *Rise* 115, 118-19). If so, then *Every Man Out* becomes an even earlier example of a stationer participating in both the quarto and folio markets.

[61] If this is the case, then it is tempting to wonder if Smethwick might also be behind the creation of title pages for each of the publishers of Shakespeare's Second Folio.

Court specifically as a market for drama. Finally, Smethwick's role in Jonson's *Workes* also suggests that, even at this early point in the history of commercial drama in collection, the Inns were already considered a viable market for such publications. Professionally, Smethwick considered the project important enough to his business to advertise himself even on an inside title page.

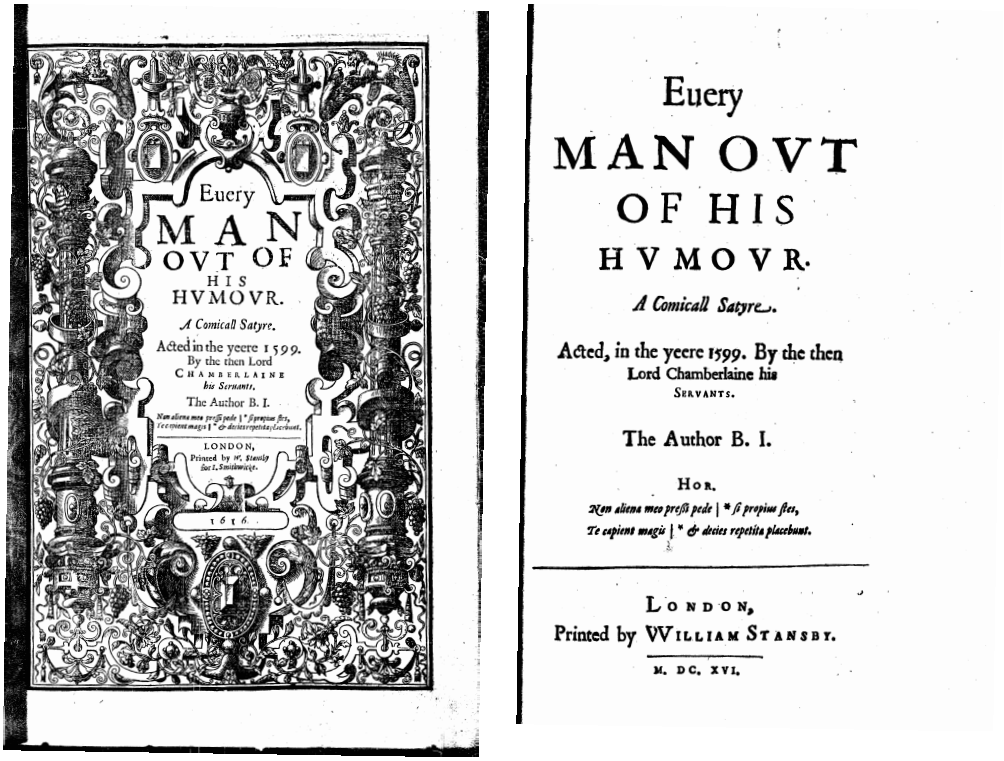

Figure 4.5 Variant title pages of *Every Man Out of His Humour* from *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (1616).

With rights to only a small part of the 1616 *Workes,* Smethwick's edition suggests the Inns as a possible early market for commercial drama in collection. However, Richard Meighen's contribution to the *Workes* would guarantee a significant presence for the collection amongst the Inns of Court. While the *Workes* imprint leaves out Meighen's location, his name appears prominently on the main title page of the *Workes* as William Stansby's main seller (STC 14752) (See Figure 4.6). A chronological review of Meighen's title page imprints reveals that from 1615 until 1625 Meighen sold out of shops at various locations in and around St. Clement's Church, also known as St. Clement Danes, including Essex House, Westminster Hall (STC 23544, 1620), and the "ſigne / of the Legge, ouer againſt the Chequer Ta- /uerne betwixt Arundell houſe and / Strand bridge" (STC 4494, 1623; STC 25940, 1625). Just beyond the massive stone entrance into the City of London known as the Temple Bar, St. Clement's, like St. Dunstan's, was surrounded by several Inns of Chancery including St. Clement's Inn and

New Inn which, according to Stow, both housed students of the law (374). The title page to one of Meighen's earliest publications, a book of epigrams and satyrs entitled *The Mastive, or Young-Whelpe of the Olde-Dooge,* shows that just prior to the publication of Jonson's *Workes,* Meighen, like Smethwick, had found it profitable to set up shop in a churchyard and advertised his text as "at S. Clements Church, without Temple Barre" (STC 19333, 1615). It may be concluded then that in 1616 Meighen was selling Jonson's *Workes* somewhere along the Strand in the vicinity of St. Clement's. At the same time, on the Fleet Street side of Temple Bar, Smethwick may have sold editions of Jonson's folio out of St. Dunstan's.[62] Meighen and Smethwick's participation in the transmission of Jonson's *Workes* reveals an early interest in collections of plays as a sellable product in the Inns of Court area. For Smethwick, the experience was positive enough that a few years later he willingly contributed to the publication of the Shakespeare First Folio and both men would go on to active roles in the publication and marketing of the Second Shakespeare Folio.

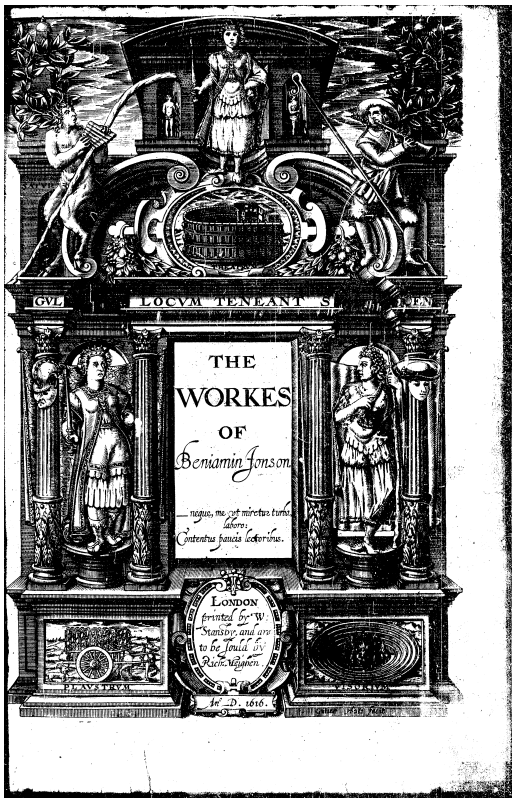

Figure 4.6 Title page of *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (1616).

[62] Massai (*Rise* 119) argues that Jonson's 1616 *Workes* is not the precedent for F1 as a collection of strictly commercial drama. Even so, it does not diminish Smethwick and Meighen's participation in an early collection of drama in which Smethwick's contribution in particular is related specifically to the publication of a commercial play.

4.7a - Minding their F's and Q's: the Fleet Street Quartos and the 1632 Folio

Smethwick and Meighen's contributions to the 1616 *Workes* set a precedent for drama in collection amongst the same Inns of Court and Chancery where they would publish their Shakespeare quartos and then their Folio. In 1630, working out of two stalls, one in St. Dunstan's and a second outside the Middle Temple Gate, Meighen published his quarto of *The Merry Wives of Windsor.* That same year, Hawkins's conflated *Othello* appeared at his stall around the corner at Sergeants' Inn. The year after, Smethwick published his quartos of *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Taming of the Shrew* in St. Dunstan's churchyard. The collective result is a concentration of Shakespeare in quarto emerging in relatively quick succession in the same neighbourhood bookstalls which just a year later would be selling a large collection including these same plays. Sonia Massai observes a similar temporal proximity between the first Shakespeare Folio and the 1619 collection commonly referred to as the Pavier Quartos.[63] Considering it unlikely that the Jaggards would thwart their ambitious and financially risky folio venture by first printing a rival collection, Massai posits that the quartos and Folio were not the rival projects most critics believe them to be (*Rise* 116). Instead, Massai suggests that Pavier consciously produced the quartos to look like an informal gathering of old and new texts, rather than the first collection of Shakespeare's plays. With this presentation, the nonce collection would actually have benefited Jaggard by serving as a "pre-publicity stunt" for the upcoming Folio (Massai *Rise* 119). Because Pavier was offering readers an enticing preview, rather than an alternative to Jaggard's larger project, Massai argues that Jaggard probably came to see Pavier's collection as complimentary rather than competition (Massai *Rise* 119).

Other stationers also took advantage of the impending Folio to offer their own additions to Pavier's collection. One of these stationers was none other than John Smethwick. R. Carter Hailey's conclusion that Smethwick published his undated quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* (Q4) in 1623, offers the possibility that Smethwick timed the quarto's publication to coincide with the release of the Folio (372). The temporal proximity of Pavier and Smethwick's quartos to F1 bears a striking resemblance to the appearance of the quartos of *The Merry Wives of Windsor, Othello, Love's Labour's Lost,* and *The Taming of the Shrew* in the two years before the publication of the Second Folio in 1632. In fact, the

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[63] That "Pavier clearly had a collection in mind" is indicated by the signature numbers of the first three plays he printed in the set (Murphy 41).

quartos published by Meighen, Smethwick, and Hawkins are produced even closer to their Folio's publication than the quartos associated with F1, suggesting that if getting readers excited to buy the upcoming complete works was an explicit goal of this collection, then the timing of these "F2 Quartos" may have had a bigger impact than the efforts of their F1 counterparts. Compelling support for this argument is Smethwick's involvement in both quarto collections. Barbara Hodgdon sees Smethwick's 1631 publication of *The Shrew* as "simply an attempt to capitalize on Shakespeare's name" (11), however, given Smethwick's publication of his pre-First Folio Q4 of *Romeo and Juliet*, Smethwick's publications of *The Shrew* and *Love's Labour's Lost* suggest a repeat and expansion of a marketing plan rather than an isolated attempt to capitalise on Shakespeare's name. Moreover, Smethwick's experience and presumed success with this tactic may have been the factor that encouraged his fellow publishers to produce their own pre-folio quartos.

The timing of Meighen, Hawkins, and Smethwick's "F2 quartos" certainly suggests that they could have functioned as enticements to future Folio readers. At the same time, the quartos seem unconcerned, and at times even outright defiant, when it comes to competing with F2 as the latest edition of their plays. Meighen's quarto of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is marketed on its title page as "newly corrected". It is also the first time anyone not owning a First Folio would see the play with its new revised title "THE / MERRY VVIVES / OF WINDSOR. / With the humours of Sir *Iohn Falſtaffe*." instead of "A / Moſt pleaſant and ex- / cellent conceited Comedy, / *of Sir Iohn Falſtaffe, and the / merry VViues of VVindſor.*" as seen on Q1 and Q2. Likewise, Smethwick's offering of the first quarto of *The Shrew* and first publication of *Love's Labour's Lost* in over thirty years might also look like new plays to someone without access to a Folio, while no one had an edition of *Othello* quite like Hawkins's Q2. Such details become more significant in asserting the newness of a text if we consider that with their close publication dates to F2 it is highly possible that in 1632 these quartos were for sale alongside the very Folio they were meant to publicise. As financial investors behind both quartos and folio, it seems odd that the Fleet Street Syndicate would sabotage any profits they stood to make from a Folio sale by offering readers less expensive alternatives. This scenario would make even more sense if their quartos served an additional marketing purpose.

In his study, "Thomas Heywood and the Cultural Politics of Play Collections", Benedict Scott Robinson observes an emerging interest in the 1640s and 1650s in

producing small collections of usually two to six commercial plays in smaller formats. These editions, designated by Robinson as "small collections" were less concerned with the literary prestige of folio collections than "collections of commercially produced plays in a fairly cheap format, for a readership that looked back nostalgically to the theater of the 1620s and 1630s, and that was accustomed to collecting and reading playbooks" (372). Chapter Three has already discussed how Hawkins's reproduction of the Q1 title page for his edition of *Othello* appealed to a market for Elizabethan/Jacobean nostalgia. Hawkins's *Othello* and Smethwick's *The Shrew* and *Love's Labour's Lost* similarly advertise their lineage by referencing past performances at both the Globe and the Blackfriars theatres on their title pages, making them three of only four Shakespeare quartos to mention both playhouses.[64] The F2 Quartos also share with these small collections an interest in "newness" which Robinson interprets from the paratexts of small collections, such as Humphrey Moseley's edition of Richard Brome's *Five New Plays* (Wing B4872, 1659), to mean an "absence of previous editions" (372). In this way, Meighen, Smethwick, and Hawkins's quartos, having each been out of print in quarto for nearly a decade or most recently available in folio, were arguably new by these same standards.

In addition, Robinson's profile of the readers of these small collections- theatre fans who loved the old plays but lacked the financial means to invest in expensive folios- bears a striking resemblance to the population of Bald's "Little St. Paul's":

> not merely were there the senior members of the profession who probably spent more time with law books than with any other kind of reading, but also even larger numbers of young students whose tastes in reading ranged far beyond the law books to which they were supposed to be giving the major part of their attention (Bald 70).

Bald's particular allusion to students reading "far beyond" their course of study positions the student population of the Inns as a significant portion of the readership market in the area (Bald 70). If reading was one of the myriad distractions for a student of the law in early modern London, then it was readily available on the students' doorsteps from booksellers like Meighen, Smethwick, and Hawkins. However, the presence of the books alone was probably not enough to lure students from their desks and into copies of Shakespeare. Themes and events in plays such as *The Merchant of Venice* and *Twelfth Night* are readily associated with issues of law and the "men of court"

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[64] The fourth is Thomas Walkley's Q1 *Othello*.

(Baker 8).[65] Meighen and Smethwick's Shakespearean offerings of *Love's Labor's Lost, The Taming of the Shrew,* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* contain moments that would speak particularly to the experience of these students of what was described in Shakespeare's time as the "third Universitie of England" (Buc).

4.7b - Shakespeare for the "Younger Sort"

Meighen and Smethwick's quartos share particular elements of a life devoted to learning the law that would have certain resonance with students of the Inns. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, the rules of the King's academe are described as a series of "ſtatutes" recorded on a "ſcedule" (1.1.17-8; A2r, 22-23) which present the plan as a legally binding document. Berowne's lines support this interpretation with him describing items as "enrolled" (1.1.38, 41, 46; A2v, 15, 18) in the document, a term which had a legal connotation in Shakespeare's time.[66] This play also enlists structures and methodologies that would be familiar to the daily life of an Inn student. For example, the anticipated success of the academe is immediately called into question when Berowne challenges its purpose: "What is the end of ſtudy, let me know?" (1.1.55; A2v, 32). When the King sensibly responds "Why that to know which elſe we ſhould not know" (1.1.56; A2v, 33) Berowne twists the King's meaning: "Things hid & bard (you meane) from common ſenſe." (1.1.57; A2v, 34)[67] and then extends this logic to prove his point:

> To know the thing I am forbid to know:
> As thus, to ſtudy where I well may dine,
> When I too faſt expressly am forbid.
> Or ſtudy where to meete ſome Miſtreſſe fine,
> When Miſtreſſes from common ſenſe are hid:
> Or hauing ſworne too hard a keeping oath,
> Studie to breake it, and not breake my troth. (1.1.60-66; A2v, 37-39 - A3r, 1-4)

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[65] See for example Anthony Arlidge *Shakespeare and the Prince of Love: The Feast of Misrule in the Middle Temple* (2002), Lois Potter *Twelfth Night: Text and Performance* (Basingstoke, 1985). Gras, Henk. "Twelfth Night, Every Man out of his Humour, and the Middle Temple revels of 1597-98" *Modern Language Review* 84.3 (1989): 545-564. B.J. Sokol. "The Merchant of Venice and the Law Merchant" *Renaissance Studies.* 6 (1992): 60-67.

[66] OED sense 4 "To write (an agreement, deed, obligation, etc.) upon a roll or parchment; to engross, give legal form to. *Obs.* ("enrolled").This meaning is also cited for this line in H.R. Woudhuysen's Arden 3 edition (115).

[67] Here, Shakespeare as Berowne is drawing on an Ovidian allusion, another quality that would have appealed to the Inns Students. See note in Woudhuysen's Arden 3.

Berowne's verbal deconstruction of the King's academe would ring familiar with students or "clerks" of the Inns to whom debate and "exercise of wit" were a central part of their training (Baker 17). Frequently this education involved listening to structured lectures or "readings" in which a statute was first presented and then explained as far as its origins and the problems it was meant to remedy (Baker 16-17, 19). Berowne's own contestation of the rules of the academe is similarly structured as a statement of the law followed by analysis of its origins and purpose:

> *Ber*. *Item.* That no woman ſhall come within a mile of my
> Court.
> ...On paine of looſing her tongue.
> Who deviſ'd this penaltie?
> *Lon.* Marry that did I.
> *Ber.* Sweete Lord, and why?
> *Lon.* To fright them hence with that dread penaltie,
> [Berowne:] A dangerous law againſt gentilitie.
> (1.1.119-127; A3v, 20-21, 25-30)[68]

In an Inns lecture, a reader would then "reciteth certain doubts and questions which he hath devised that may grow upon the said statute" (qtd. in Baker 19).[69] Berowne similarly contests a second item, the statute against speaking to women, by pointing out a practical difficulty in enacting this point:

> [Berowne:] *Item*, If any man be ſeene to talke with a woman within the
> tearme of three yeeres, he ſhall endure ſuch publike ſhame, as
> the reſt of the Court ſhall poſſibly deuiſe.
> *Ber.* This Article my Liedge your ſelfe muſt breake,
> For well you know here comes in Embaſſie
> The *French* Kings daughter, with your ſelfe to ſpeake:
> ...Therefore this article is made in vaine,
> Or vainely comes th'admired Princeſſe hither.
> (1.1.128-33,137-38; A3v, 31-36; A4r, 1-2)

While Berowne structures his point-counterpoint in a style familiar to students from their lectures, they may also have identified Berowne as one of them. Berowne is acknowledged by his companions as the legal mind in the group. In act 4.3 the King specifically calls upon him to "proue / Our louing, lawfull" (4.3.280-81; F2r, 31-32). Longaville further implores Berowne to find "ſome authority how to proceed" (283; F2r,

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[68] In Q2 Berowne's lines at A3v, 30-33 are attributed to Longaville.

[69] Waterhous, Edward. *Fourtescutus Illustratus.* London: Thomas Dicas, 1663. 544-5.

34) and Dumaine requests "Some ſalue for periurie" (285; F2r, 36). The use of such legal vocabulary implies that Berowne is expected to develop a juridical argument to release them from the academe's rules. Berowne fulfills their request with his "School of Love" speech by comparing their position to the highest form of law breaking "To faſt, to ſtudy, and to ſee no woman: /Flat treaſon againſt the Kingly ſtate of youth" (4.3.289-90; F2v, 1-2) he then goes on to conclude that such practices actually prevent the truest learning, "Let's once looſe our oathes to find our ſelues, / Or elſe we looſe our ſelues, to keepe our oathes" (4.3.335-36; F3r, 32-33). In this way, Berowne's arguing skills combined with his choice of language and his status as a gentleman align him in background and training to the student readers of Smethwick's quarto.

In addition to particular characters like Berowne in whom the students would see their own experiences, the student readers of the Fleet Street Syndicate's quartos may also have been entertained by the plays' many scenes of "lessons" in which characters examine and are themselves in turn examined through verbal exercises. Among the extensive verbal bantering and wordplay in *Love's Labour's Lost,* there are multiple scenes of instruction and examination driven by language. However, it may have been the scenes where the traditional, orderly scene of the lesson was turned on its head that offered the most entertainment to student readers. In 3.1, Moth (*"Boy"*) uses his skill with language to gently chide Don Armado ("Braggart") with the logic of a rhetorical argument:

Brag. I ſay Lead is ſlow.
Boy. You are too ſwift ſir to ſay ſo.
Is that Lead ſlow which is ſir'd from a Gunne?
Brag. Sweete ſmoake of Rhetoricke, (58-60; C4v, 4-7)

That Moth is as successful at the art of rhetoric as Don Armado believes himself to be encourages the clever student to imagine outsmarting the teacher at their own game. Moth's schooling of a teacher takes a more juvenile and mischievous tone in 5.1 when he uses his language skills to elicit comical responses from the schoolmaster Holofernes (described as "Pedant" in Q2).

Pag. Ba moſt ſeely Sheepe, with a horne : you heare his lear/ning.
Peda. *Quis, quis,* thou Conſonant?
Page. The laſt of the fiue Vowels, if You repeate them, or the / fift if I.
Peda. I will repeate them: a e I.

Page. The ſheepe, the other two concludes it o u.
(5.1.47-53; Q2 F4r, 29-34).

Getting Holofernes to unknowingly identify himself as the horned sheep offers student readers the vicarious pleasure of seeing a younger character apply language lessons to outwitting the elder teacher.[70]

In 4.1 of *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* the solemn recitation of Latin grammar is again undermined, this time by a combination of Mistress Quickly's comical malapropisms and Evans's Welsh accent. If not familiar with the idiosyncratic trait of Quickly's character, the mishearing and the resulting substitutions, for example "*caret*" for "carrot", might remind students of when, like young Will, they first heard their school masters reciting Latin and mentally replaced the strange sounding Latin words with more familiar English ones (G3r, 28). Quickly's subsequent reactions to Evans' pronunciations: to caret/carrot, "And that's a good roote" (4.1.47; G3r, 29) and to haec hoc/hang hog, "Hang-hog, is latten for Bacon" (4.1.42; G3r, 24) might also be reminiscent of quips made by rambunctious or confused students faced with the potentially combustable situation of a monotonous Latin lesson and a teacher with a heavy accent. Confronted daily with language as a place for wit and performance, the students of the Inns may have relished these moments when traditionally rigid exercises were cleverly disrupted. If Will's Latin lesson is meant to invoke nostalgia of the "whining schoolboy, with his satchel and shining morning face", then Lucentio's attempt to woo and school Bianca in 3.1 of *The Taming of the Shrew* can be said to present "the lover, Sighing like furnace" (*As You Like It* 2.7.146, 148-9). Here the Latin recitation or "conster" (3.1.30; E3r, 12) is appropriated as a comical subterfuge for Lucentio, disguised as the schoolmaster Cambio, to reveal his affections to Bianca. As in *Merry Wives*, the disruption of the lesson is not just in the action of the scene, but in the wordplay. While Lucentio assumes the lead role as teacher and wooer, editors frequently note that it is Bianca the "student" who gives the more correct recitation.[71] Bianca's controlling of the courtship by witholding her consent, "preſume not", while suggesting the possibility of success ,"dif-/paire not", inverts expected classroom and courtship

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[70] Holofernes use of incorrect Latin is a similar image of a teacher "bungling" their subject, see for example, his use of "sanguis" which may be an example of compositorial error, but as H.R. Woudhuysen acknowledges, may also suggest that "Holofernes' Latin is not as good as it ought to be" (*Love's Labour's* 185).

[71] Barbara Hodgdon (Arden 3) notes Lucentio's translation as "somewhat idiosyncratic" and follows Barkan's observation that "in returning the translation exercise like a model pupil, Bianca at least keeps the Latin clauses logically together" (Hodgdon 221; Barkan 39). H. J. Oliver (Oxford World Classics edition) suggests that "Shakespeare may have intended Lucentio's Latin to be bad" (159).

dynamics to entertain students of the Inns with clever reversals of familiar moments in the life of a young gentleman (3.1.42, 43; E3r, 14-15).

The highs and lows of Lucentio's courtship schemes no doubt resonated with the young gentlemen who purchased quartos of plays like *The Taming of the Shrew, The Merry Wives of Windsor,* and *Love's Labour's Lost* as entertaining diversions from their studies. Indeed the idea of students being distracted from their lessons was a regular theme for students of the Inns and their instructors. In her essay "The Sinful history of mine own youth: John Donne preaches at Lincoln's Inn", Emma Rhatigan observes how Donne, a former student of the Inns himself, drew upon his own experiences to tailor his sermons to the next generation (100). In one such sermon, Donne succinctly summarised the dilemma for students as: "A fair day shoots arrows of visits, and comedies, and conversation and so wee goe abroad: and a foul day shoots arrows of gaming, or chambering and wantonnesse, and so we stay at home" (Potter and Simpson II, 62; Rhatigan 100). Confronted by so many potential diversions, student readers probably related readily to the numerous instances in *Merry Wives, The Shrew,* and *Love's Labour's* where learning is thwarted by a variety of non-academic amusements. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, the King of Navarre's meticulously structured academe is interrupted by the arrival of the French princess and her female companions. In *The Taming of the Shrew,* Lucentio's intention to "inſtitute / A courſe of Learning, and ingenious ſtudies" in Padua is similarly abandoned when he is "thral'd" with the "ſodaine ſight" of Bianca (1.1.8-9, 219; B2r, 6-7; B4v, 28). In *Merry Wives,* young Will's whole school day is replaced with an impromptu recitation and a "playing day" (4.1.8; G2v, 22) so that Evans can aid Slender in his pursuit of Anne Page.[72] As worlds valuing clever word play, abandoned and thrwarted lessons, and gleeful succumbing to temptation *Merry Wives, The Shrew,* and *Love's Labour's* speak to particular aspects of life that would have been familiar to the large population of students living and studying around the Inns of Court. It may be the prevalence of this reading audience which led Smethwick to vary from his usual repertoire of Shakespearean tragedy (*Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet)* to publish the "WITTIE AND PLEASANT" comedies *Love's Labour's* and *The Shrew* in preparation for F2.

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[72] In his Arden 3, Giorgio Melchiori also suggests this as the underlying reason for the play day (239).

4.7c - Richard Hawkins at the Inn: Shakespeare for the "Wiser sort"

Gabriel Harvey famously observed that "the younger sort takes much delight in Shakespeares Venus, and Adonis: but his Lucrece, and his tragedie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke, haue it in them, to please the Wiser sort" (Harvey f.422b). I have argued that Meighen and Smethwick's witty comedies suited the tastes of the students passing by their bookstalls. However, one would be hard pressed to suggest that Hawkins's publication of *Othello* was chosen to invoke the same images of youthful courtship and merry language games offered in Meighen and Smethwick's quartos. At Hawkins's stall, the lighthearted intrigues of the ladies and gentlemen of *Love's Labour's Lost* and the jealous antics of Master Ford in *The Merry Wives* become Iago's poisonous manipulations of language and people that culminate in Othello's destructive jealousy (3.3.328). As the only Shakespeare play Hawkins had rights to, it would be easy to dismiss his publication of *Othello* as a non-choice. However, as discussed in Chapter Three, Hawkins chose to venture into dramatic publication with *Othello* and the tragicomedies *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy,* and *A King and No King,* suggesting a conscious fashioning of his repertoire in a style markedly different from his syndicate colleagues.[73]

A potential reason for this alternative approach lies in the relationship between Hawkins's publication repertoire and the location of his bookstall. For the span of his career, the title pages of Hawkins's editions consistently place him around the corner from Smethwick and Meighen "in Chancery-Lane, neere Sergeants-Inne". Unlike the other Inns of Court which housed both practicing barristers and law students, the Sergeants' Inn included only the highest ranking senior or "utter" barristers (Stow 85). These Sergeants of the law in turn formed the pool from whom Common Law Judges were then chosen ("History of 3 Serjeants' Inn"). The Sergeants' Inn was therefore a unique place "where none but the sergeants and judges to converse" (Stow 85). That Hawkins catered to this population is evident in his publication of John Penkethman's translation *A Handful of Honesty or Cato in English Verse* (STC 4861, 1623) which includes Penkethman's dedication "TO THE RIGHT HONO-/RABLE AND HONOR-WOR-/THY THE IVDGES AND Patrons of Law and Equitie" and "Maſters, Benchers, and Pre-/*ſidents of the Honourable Houſes of / Co[urt] and Chancery*" (A3r-v). Hawkins and the Sergeants' immediate next door neighbour, the Liberty of the Rolls, was another unlikely destination for students looking for distraction from their studies. A

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[73] Smethwick, as already mentioned, also published tragedies, having produced multiple editions of *Hamlet* and *Romeo*, but he would wait until five years after the publication of F2 in 1637 to issue Caroline editions of these plays.

former home for converted Jews,[74] the Liberty consisted of the office where the Rolls and Records of the Court of Chancery were kept, the Rolls Chapel, a garden, and a residence for the Keeper of the Rolls (Harben).

Situated between the Sergeants' Inn and the Liberty of the Rolls, two central institutions of law and administration, the foot traffic in front of Hawkins's bookstall was most likely comprised predominantly of experienced elder barristers and administrators. Lacking the bustle of a student cohort, the general tenor of Hawkins's immediate neighbourhood was no doubt a bit more austere than that of his syndicate colleagues. Hawkins may have considered this difference significant enough to offer Iago's "Dangerous conceits...But with a little act vpon the blood" as an alternative to the fanciful language of the comedies offered on Fleet Street (3.3.329-32; G3r, 1, 3).[75] To this end, while Hawkins's publication of *Othello* may appear incongruous with the rest of the Fleet Street quartos in terms of genre and audience, when considered in light of the particular character of his location, Hawkins's choice is the same subtle fashioning of repertoire to a local readership practiced by Smethwick and Meighen. Thus, if Smethwick and Meighen's offerings were meant to entice "the younger sort", it can be said that Hawkins's offering of *Othello* was intended "to please the Wiser sort".

The Shakespeare quartos of the Fleet Street Syndicate linked Elizabethan and Jacobean plays to the lives and experiences of the students, lawyers, and other professionals of the Inns of Court in the Caroline era. Through their publications of *Love's Labour's Lost, The Merry Wives of Windsor, The Taming of the Shrew* and *Othello* the Fleet Street Syndicate constructed a Shakespeare that was youthful, vibrant, and full of characters romping, for better or worse, amongst a world of love, law, and letters. In this way, Smethwick, Meighen, and Hawkins provided their readers with a window through which they could see themselves as part of a community of scholars. At the same time, through the many upheavals, interruptions and distractions, these same readers could escape the routine and predicability of the bar and the classroom for the delightful messiness and uncertainty of life. By collectively reading Shakespeare through the eyes of their local clientele, the Fleet Street Syndicate shows early modern publishers conscientiously engaging with playwrights and readers as they shaped the market for commercial drama. In the process, these publishers re-present Shakespeare's plays as current to a new generation of readers by engaging in the interests of a society fixated

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[74] Even after the Jews were expelled from England, elder converts were in residence on the premises until the seventeenth century. cf. "Rolls' Yard", *A Dictionary of London* (1918), *British History Online.*

[75] Q2 follows F1's "acte" over Q1's "art" which is often accepted by modern editions.

with the scholastic world, law, and the aspirations and concerns of an ever-evolving city. Thus, the publications of Smethwick, Meighen, and Hawkins are an example of publishers actively contributing to the development of dramatic publication and particularly the sustained presence of Shakespeare in print through the first half of the seventeenth century.

4.7d - Minding their F's and Q's

The two niche markets served by the Syndicate, the students on Fleet Street and the sergeants on Chancery Lane, offer an additional key to the Syndicate's unique participation in both the quarto and folio markets for commercial drama. While judges and senior members of the Inns may have added the 1632 Folio and perhaps Hawkins's conflated *Othello* to their libraries, the "even larger numbers of students" would provide a longer-term market for the quartos beyond their initial roles as pre-publicity tools (Bald 70). By devising a second purpose for their quartos, Meighen, Smethwick, and Hawkins expanded their profit potential by widening their readership beyond the limited folio audience. In short, their attempt to offer Shakespeare to "the great variety of readers" was good business. This dynamic, described by Massai as "distinct but compatible", offers an eloquent answer to why any early modern publisher would offer quartos of plays they were simultaneously selling in folio (*Rise* 179). The inherent practicality behind the Syndicate's approach moves their textual collaboration across repertoires and readerships and our assessment of their publishing strategies from the realm of theoretical supposition to a practical reality of the early modern marketplace.

This chapter will conclude by briefly considering a third aspect of the Fleet Street Quartos: their impact on the F2 text itself. This relationship is not completely straightforward, despite the syndicate's subsequent investment in correcting, perfecting, and conflating their new quartos, F2 is believed to be generated from F1 copytexts. While this disconnect between Folio and quartos supports the claim of this dissertation that, in addition to pre-publicity for F2 the collection was also devised to attract readers of quarto plays in their own right, it also means that there is limited evidence directly linking textual intervention in F2 to the Fleet Street Syndicate. And yet the publisher engagement seen across the quarto collection makes it difficult to accept that a group of stationers so invested in their Shakespeare publications would not contribute in some form to a folio bearing their names. The above evidence prompts a search for signs of

the Syndicate's continued interest in their Shakespeare publication rights beyond their individual F2 title pages. In their landmark study *Shakespeare's Seventeenth-Century Editors,* Matthew Black and Matthias Shaaber were similarly drawn to the idea of quarto influence on the F2 copytext. Identifying particular F2 changes as "restoring the reading of an earlier text", Black and Shaaber acknowledged an uncanny ability of the F2 editors "by a process of divination alone, [to] so often have worked back to the readings of the quartos" (22, 23). While not going so far as to argue for quarto intervention in F2, the number of instances in which quarto readings were duplicated in changes to F2 led them to conclude that "it is necessary to avoid the implication that all correspondences between Folio emendations and modern texts rests upon the authority of the Folios" (23). While evidence of quarto influence on F2 is inconclusive, Black and Shaaber's research does offer potential indicators of the Fleet Street Syndicate's particular influence on the second Shakespeare Folio. As part of their research, Black and Shaaber calculated the total number of substantive "Changes in F2" for each play in the Folio (34-35). Of the ten plays with the highest number of substantive changes, half are titles owned by the Fleet Street Syndicate. Of plays owned by Smethwick, *Romeo and Juliet* has the highest number of changes of any play in F2 with *Love's Labour's Lost* (3rd), *Hamlet* (7th), *The Taming of the Shrew* (9th), and Hawkins's *Othello* (5th) completing the list. Only *The Merry Wives of Windsor* does not make the top ten. However, *Merry Wives* is noted by Black and Shaaber for having, with *Two Gentlemen of Verona,* the highest number of correct changes to entrances and exits in the entire Folio. Of the seventy-three entrances and exits correctly added and one omitted, more than a third of these appear in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* with *Merry Wives* containing fifteen to *Gentlemen*'s twelve (42, 112). Thus, the F2 plays owned by members of the Fleet Street Syndicate make up a significant portion of the most heavily emended texts in F2. Furthermore, Black and Shaaber's description of the character of editing in F2 as at times tending "to put the reader before Shakespeare" by "making it clearer, easier to understand, for the reader's benefit" also bears a striking resemblance to the syndicate's interest in readerly performance (41).[76] Such parallels suggest that the Syndicate's editorial practice may have somehow influenced the publication of their titles in Shakespeare's Second Folio. This may be particularly true in the case of Smethwick, who is listed as the "first" publisher of the edition, and as this chapter has observed,

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[76] Black and Shaaber use these quotes to describe such variants as "mistaken changes" because they do not have playwright authority nor are they preferred by modern editions. As an editorial profile, they still demonstrate an interest in clarifying to improve reader experience.

would invest in annotated Folio texts if the available quarto were not the "better" copy. In this way, the interrelations of F2 and the Fleet Street Quartos suggested by Black and Shaaber's findings complement the textual intervention suggested in the F2's individual title pages and repeated in the production of the quartos themselves. However, before the impact of collective agency on F2 can be assessed, additional comprehensive analysis needs to consider the textual intervention of other agents involved in its publication. For instance, the printing house practices of Thomas Cotes, the Folio's printer, need to be better understood in terms of his textual intervention before we can develop a more accurate profile of the collective agency at work in F2. Nevertheless, available evidence of agent intervention in both the Fleet Street Quartos and the Second Folio supports Black and Shaaber's categorisation of F2 as an edited text by offering additional signs of comparable annotation in other dramatic publications. F2, in other words, is not an isolated instance of edited early modern drama, nor is it indicative of particular interest in folios as more worthy of such editorial attention. Rather, F2 and the Fleet Street Quartos collectively suggest a Caroline textual culture in which publishing agents continually perfected commercial drama for publication.

4.8 - Conclusion

This chapter has shown publishers engaging with commercial drama through textual intervention, collective publication of drama in quarto, and response to particular reader markets. Although Meighen, Smethwick, and Hawkins had varied approaches to individual textual intervention, the unifying themes of their Shakespeare quartos reveal a collective understanding of their local readership. Moreover, the combined publication of their quartos prior to F2 suggests that rather than seeing themselves and their individual publications as competition, Smethwick, Meighen, and Hawkins understood that their joint repertoires could collectively influence the market. As a result, the Fleet Street Quartos stand as an example of unprecedented collaboration between early modern publishers of Shakespeare in small format playbooks.

In addition to collaborating with their stationer colleagues, my research shows Smethwick, Meighen, and Hawkins actively engaging with the plays they published. The profiles of publisher intervention presented over the last two chapters highlight the variable character of publisher agency by demonstrating that it can be identified and analysed systematically. Whether Hawkins's elaborate conflation or Smethwick's lighter

touch, the second half of this dissertation has confirmed that publishers were regularly interested in the quality of the dramatic texts that ended up in their bookstalls. Whether selecting variant readings, enhancing virtual performance, or perfecting the text to contemporary standards, the textual space of the Fleet Street Quartos focused on the current conditions of publication by honing texts to the needs of a clearly defined readership. This realisation proposes a much more fluid concept of printed text across the early modern period.

The levels of active engagement with commercial drama in print recorded in this chapter also challenge our perception of publisher attitudes towards dramatic quartos and to reprints of drama more specifically. With attention to textual intervention and insightful coordination of their repertoires to the interests of their local readers, it is reasonable to conclude that Smethwick, Hawkins, and Meighen saw their quartos as profitable texts in their own right. This conclusion begs reconsideration of the notion that all dramatic quartos in the early modern era were considered insignificant piece-work by all stationers and asks that the status of dramatic quartos be assessed through the character of individual publisher repertoires. Only after gaining a comprehensive understanding of dramatic publication across publisher practice more broadly can we postulate its more general status in early modern book culture.

Meighen, Smethwick, and Hawkins's quarto collection also offers insights into Shakespeare's literary status in the Caroline era. The Fleet Street Syndicate's decision to refashion Shakespeare for a new generation of readers by investing in both quarto and folio publications represents a notable commitment to a single playwright that can hardly be read as anything less than a vote of confidence. Shakespeare, more than a decade after his death, could still be counted on to sell. The Fleet Street Syndicate's Shakespeare publications also present an intriguing image of at least one group of Caroline readers as a community who wanted to see themselves within the stories and characters of the Elizabethan and Jacobean plays they read. The repeated use of Shakespeare to fulfil this market demand offers a glimpse of the endlessly relevant Shakespeare who is continuously represented and reintroduced to modern audiences. Moreover, the Fleet Street Syndicate presents a model of publisher collaboration that is driven by the desire to engage specifically with readers of commercial drama in quarto. This research again challenges accepted attitudes towards dramatic quartos in the marketplace by presenting them as viable commodities that publishers purposely invested in. It also expands our understanding of publication syndicates beyond the

necessity characteristic of folio collections to a more inclusive, voluntary and co-operative approach to dramatic publication. In this light, collaboration is not just an option for prominent individual stationers but a vocational convention which pooled resources and experience to perpetuate and innovate the publications, livelihoods, and profession of early modern stationers. Thus, the collective contribution of the Fleet Street Syndicate positions collaboration as a desirable and recurrent event in relation to dramatic publication in the period.

In closing, the active textual engagement of printers and publishers examined throughout this dissertation shows that non-authorial agents were important contributors to the development and preservation of early modern drama in print. For Shakespeare, a playwright who did not actively engage with the publication process, non-authorial agents like Chettle, Danter, Okes, Smethwick, Meighen, and Hawkins were vital collaborators who ensured not only his survival in print but also his subsequent elevation to national poet and global playwright. As the only documentation of Shakespeare's plays still available to us, the early Shakespeare editions produced by these agents remain our most immediate contact with Shakespeare's works. For this reason, reading Shakespeare through collaboration is essential to our understanding of the material texts which we now identify as "Shakespeare".

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Appendix

Spreadsheet of Collated Textual Variants

Appendix

Key to Plays.

KNG	*A King and No King*
LLL	*Love's Labour's Lost*
MMT	*Michaelmas Term*
MT	*The Maid's Tragedy*
MW	*The Merry Wives of Windsor*
OTH	*Othello*
PHL	*Philaster*
PHX	*The Phoenix*
TS	*The Taming of the Shrew*
WGIG	*Cupid's Whirligig*

Key to Spreadsheet Columns.

OEd	Original Edition
O Variant	Original Variant
E Ed	Edited Edition
E Variant	Edited Variant
E Location	Signature and line number of Edited Variant
Type	Type of Variant (See Below)

Key to Variant Types.

VSNC	Variant Spelling - name change/correction
VSFL	Variant Spelling - foreign language / English accents
VSCm	Variant Spelling - changes meaning
VSCr	Variant Spelling - change refines
VCT	Variant Changes Tense
VS	Variant Spelling - no change in meaning
SD	Stage Direction
SP	Speech Prefix/Heading
VP	Variant Punctuation
ADD	Addition
VO	Variant Order
VBla	Variant Removes Blasphemy
VTYPO	Variant Typography
Misl	Mislineation
Vw	Variant sharing no letters with original (not a possible VSCm)

Appendix

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
KNG	Revels, 1.1.57	Q2	The **soldier**.	Q3	Mar. Prithee, who christened it? Bes. The **soldiers**.	A3v, 34	VSCm	Bliss glosses the Q2 singular to mean ‘‘the soldiery, the troops” this meaning was apparently too obscure for Hawkins who gives the literal word for the group. **(literal context)**
KNG	Revels, 1.1.88 SD	Q2	Enter Arbaces and Tigranes two Kings **&c. / The** two Gentlemen	Q3	Enter Arbaces and Tigranes two Kings **and** two Gentlemen.	A4r, 27-28	SD	More **readerly presentation** that converts phrases into a sentence.
KNG	Revels, 1.1.88 SD	Q2	Enter Arbaces and Tigranes two Kings **&c. / The** two Gentlemen	Q3	Enter Arbaces and Tigranes two Kings **and** two Gentlemen.	A4r, 27-28	VP	More **readerly presentation** that converts phrases into a sentence. Shows attention to details for characters as seen in dramatis personae.
KNG	Revels, 1.1.208	Q2	**done**	Q3	And yet I conquered him and could have **done’t** /	B2r,6	ADD	The addition of ‘t’ creates a rhetorical balance between the verbs so both phrases have a direct object. **(rhetorical balance)**
KNG	Revels, 1.1.309	Q2	That **[ ]** will be entreated from my sight	Q3	I pray you leave me Sirs, I’me proud of this, / That **you** will be intreated from my sight:	B3r, 3	ADD	The addition of ‘you’, because there is no pronoun in the Q2, is a literal context taking its cue from the previous line where Arbaces is dismissing Bessus and the Two gentlemen. **(context)**
KNG	Revels, 1.1.368	Q2	then you **would** shine indeed	Q3	Mard. ...but darken ‘em, then you **will** shine indeed.	B4r, 24	VT	Similar to other preferences for ‘will’ over the conditional ‘would’. **characterisation** also **context** as the presence of ‘will’ may take its cue from Arbaces’s opening of prev. line : ‘I will, and after call’ and the the opening of Mardonius’s line before that: ‘However you will use me’ (lines 363, 361).
KNG	Revels, 1.2.5	Q2	Some friend that **either loves** me or my cause	Q3	Spaconia. ...Some friend that **euer lou’d** me or my cause, / Will build me something to distinguish me from other weeping women	C2r, 28	Vw	The meaning remains the same but the phrase intro. **(poetic = lectio difficilior)**
KNG	Revels, 2.1.98	Q2	My **prayers are** heard	Q3	Panthea. My **prayer is** heard	C4v, 14	Vw	**Characterisation** only possible by a reading in the **context** that emphasises Panthea’s singular wish in this scene - as she makes a point of denying any interest in anything but news of Arbaces.
KNG	Revels, 2.1.165	Q2	come **nearer** the princess?	Q3	Bessus. .. Charge, will you come **neere** the Princess?	D1v, 6	Vw	Sees this as the first approach of Spaconia, since she hasn’t actually spoken yet. **(context/ enhances readerly narrative)**

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
KNG	Revels, 2.1.296	Q2	I **shall** walk to visit him	Q3	Spaconia....For certaine I **will** walke to visite him	D3r, 36	Vw	Shall/Will: This may be a **modernisation** or **characterisation** of definitive. If Hawkins is always using it that way, it could be how he is reading it.
KNG	Revels, 2.2.4	Q2	be hanged than **carry women out** fiddling	Q3	3. Man. One were better bee hang'd, then **carry out women** fiddling to these shewes.	D3v, 24	Vw	A case of fiddling with language. Since both meanings are obscure it is hard to tell why, but we can suspect that the lang. felt awk. to Hawkins and he was fiddling trying to refine. **(lang. refine/ modernise)** This happens repeatedly in OTH (as in 2.2.33). Likes the noun to go last.
KNG	Revels, 2.2.33	Q2	Wilt thou go **with me down** this summer		Wilt thou go **down with me** this summer	D4r, 16	Vw	Like 2.2.4, a playing with a word order that may have felt old or awkward. **(lang. refine/ modernise)** This happens repeatedly in OTH (as in 2.2.33).
KNG	Revels, 2.2.85	Q2	As is not to be bought **without our bloods**	Q3	yet tis such a word / As is not to be bought, **but with your blouds**, / 'Tis peace.	D4v, 35	Vw	A good example of H's desire for **consistency** drawn from **context**. With the exception of the Q2's 'our' Arbaces addresses the speech directly to the citizens not including himself. In fact, the further change of 'but with' from 'without' adds further emphasis to Arbaces's pt of the speech, that the prominence of the role of the citizens in the war and his prosperity. (speech lines 2.2.80-90) (**characterisation)**
KNG	Revels, 3.1.103-104	Q2	Poisoned with anger **that may** strike me dead.	Q3	Panthea. ... say something, though it be/ Poyson'd with anger **that it may** strike me dead.	E3v, 4-5	ADD	The ADD of 'it' could have come from a couple of motives. First it adjusted the direct object from the anger back to 'something' - which is Panthea's request to Arbaces. **(consistency/ rhetorical balance)** Otherwise, the 'it' creates the even line of iambs. that H. is so fond of. **(metre)**
KNG	Revels, 3.1.177	Q2	No, marry **is she** not	Q3	Bessus. No, marry, **she is** not, an't it please your Majesty. / I never thought shee was; she's nothing like you.	E4v, 15	Vw	The change to 'she is' from 'is she', creates parallel formations with both the end of Bessus's line 'she was' and also Arbaces's follow up line, 'No, 'tis ture, **she is** not'. **(rhetorical balance, consistency)**
KNG	Revels, 3.1.244	Q2	And **how dare you then**	Q3	Arbaces. And **how then dare you** offer to change wordes with her?	F1v, 13-14	Vw	Changing of word order so that the pronoun/object is last in phrase, similar to 2.2.4 and 2.2.33. **(lang./refine modernise)**

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
KNG	Revels, 3.1.279	Q2	Or that **famed tyrant's** bed.	Q3	Tigranes.... Or that **fram'd Titans** bed.	F2r, 16	VSCr	This change takes a general allusion to what both Arnold and Revels editions refer to as a ref. to Procrustes's and his bed and adds some particular detail that not only shows intent to seamlessly enhance the text that is already serviceable but Hawkins's knowledge of greek mythology. Changes ref. to the frame of Procrustes' bed which is central to his myth and the use of 'Titans' for 'tyrant' identifies his genealogy as son of Poseidon and grand child of two of the original 12 titans Cronus and Rhea. **(Difficil lectio / poetic)**
KNG	Revels, 3.1.302	Q2	Rise you then **to, here** I acknowledge thee.	Q3	Arb. Rise you then **to heare;** I acknowledge thee	F2v, 4	VSCm	Less reliance on SD and more on embedded direction that works better narratively for reading. While modern editions respond to an apparently missing SD that they add for Arbaces to raise Panthea at line 302. Q2 doesn't have this SD and so reading the line Hawkins found it problematic. Hawkins following the Elizabethan tradition esp. noted in Shakespeare, is clued by the embedded SD at line 300 where Panthea directs Arab. to 'stand up'. Perhaps because this happens naturally in Hawkins's ear, he then combines it with the next action he perceives 'to heare'. While both Q2 and Q3 readings work, we see here Hawkins as a reader of play cues. **(dramatic sense / readerly imagery context)**
KNG	Revels, 3.3.24	Q2	**Is not that** strange	Q3	Arb. ... **Is it not** strange Mardonius, ther's no cure?	G1v, 27	Vw	**modernisation** Another instance of fiddling with word order that gives it a more **pedestrian** sound.
KNG	Revels, 3.3.28, 49, 53	Q2	I **shall** not shrink; Mar. **Shall** I say nothing to her? ; What **should** I make her understand?	Q3	Mar. ...if it be dangerous I **will** not shrink to doe you seruice. I shall not esteeme..; Mar. That's strange, I **Shall** say nothing to her? Mar. But what **shall** I make her vnderstand;	G1v, 31; G2r, 18, 22	Vw	A curious instance of **will/ shall**. First instance shows H's typical preference for 'will' in statements telling the future action a character vows to do. This characterisation may be carried to Mardonius's question with the inversion of 'I' and 'shall' from Q2, but one would expect a 'will' to replace the 'shall'- except perhaps if this is meant to show his lack of confidence in the act. The third ex in which 'shall' replaces Q2s 'should' (unusual) then suggests a mirroring of the 'shall' above (**consistency**), but perhaps also a **characterisation** of Mardonius' lang. decorum?
KNG	Revels, 3.3.57	Q2	and, **on** more advice	Q3	Arb. ...Beare here this Ring then, and **one** more advice	G2r, 26	VSCm	Hawkins cluing into lists. **(contextual)**

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
KNG	Revels, 3.3.68	Q2	I hope **I** do not sir	Q3	Mardonius. I hope **you** doe not sir.	G2v, 3	Vw	This change which muddles the back and forth of the dialogue applies an emphasis to Mardonius's character that emphasises his revulsion to Arb. incestuous sugg. right to his face. Superseding the response to his less inflammatory question 'Dost thou concieve me' (ln 68). **(characterisation)**
KNG	Revels, 3.3.165	Q2	Like [ ] flames of sulphur	Q3	Like **the** flames of *Sulphur*, which me thinkes doe dart..../ Fourt rowes of Iron teeth	G3v, 25	ADD	This addition may be related to the Vw of Titan at 3.1.279. 'Sulphur' is set in italics combined w/ the ADD of 'the' suggests Hawkins sees an allusion to particular flames of sulphur. Bliss suggests a possible allusion to Fairie Queen bk1, canto xi 12-4 which recounts not only sulphur flames but rows of iron teeth as well. **Difficilio / poetic** change however does disrupt the meter.
KNG	Revels, 3.3.174	Q2	I am inspired with horror, [ ]I hate thee	Q3	Arbaces. ...I am inspi'd with horreur: **now** I hate thee/	G3v, 33	ADD	This addition may be a misguided attempt to correct the **meter** which actually doesn't appear to need fixing.
KNG	Revels, 3.3.195	Q2	THat is so near you as **your** brother is	Q3	Arbaces. That is so neere you as **my** brother is	E4v, 35	Vw	The change from 'your' to 'my' creates a bit of confusion, but you can see the change reacting to the volte from the 'but' which follows where Arbaces explains 'you are nought to me but a disease. As in other pts., like Othello, the use of 'my' also changes the focus from Pan. to Arbaces. **(characterisation, context)**
KNG	Revels, 4.3.25	Q2	The rest were but an **honourable** rudeness.	Q3	(2nd Swordman) Those blowes oth'face haue made a new cause on't/ The rest were but an **horrible** rudenesse.	I1r, 9	Vw	This Vw suggests that reading literally, Hawkins missed the irony of the Swordsmen's inflated chivalry. Similar to him missing paradoxes other places. **(Poetic-not/ context w/ 4.3.29)**
KNG	Revels, 4.3.29	Q2	had they been ten and those ten **drawn ten** teeth	Q3	had they beene ten, and those **ten drawen** teeth, beside the hazard of his nose for ever;	I1r, 13	Vw	Like 4.3.25, this is reflective of H missing the point of the Swordsmen and their elaborate lang. **(modernisation / context)**
KNG	Revels, 4.4.15	Q2	**I am** the first that ever had a wrong	Q3	Pan. ... **Am I** the first that euer had a wrong / So farre from being fit to have redresse that was unfit to heare it;	I3r, 14	Vw	The change from the definitive to asking as a hypothetical seems more **poetical** as well as more in line with Panthea's **characterisation** as milder. It doesn't seem like she would assert her position as being wronged directly to the person she loves the most. Hawkins continues to set her as more passive than, for example, Mardonius.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
KNG	Revels, 4.4.69	Q2	Each sudden passion throws me **as** it lists	Q3	Arbaces. ...As the wilde Ocean, that obes the windes; / Each sodaine passon throwes me **where** it lists	I3v, 35	Vw	Draws **context** from the 'throwes' in this image. H. may have been initially drawn to this image w/ its **nautical** references to the sea, a theme where variants are also seen in OTH.
KNG	Revels, 4.4.102	Q2	a heap / Of strange yet uninvented **sins** upon me	Q3	Arbaces. ... a heape / Of strange yet vninu[ ]ted **sinne** vpon me.	I4r, 30	VSCm	This could be a case of agreement: 'a heape' and 'sin'. It could also be a case of **consistency** with Arbaces's description in the same speech at line 98 (Revels) of what he desires as a singular 'sin'. **(context)**
KNG	Revels, 4.4.152	Q2	I'll credit thee. **I know** thou canst not lie; / Thou art all truth	Q3	Arbaces. No more; / Ile credit thee,**[ ]** thou canst not lye, / Thou are all Trueth.	K1r, 12	ADD	ADD/ omission. Perhaps an attempt to restore a **rhetorical balance** in the phrase with the 'thou' that follows.
KNG	Revels, 4.4.157	Q2	we were **scrupulous**	Q3	Arbaces. ... And kisse againe too; We were **too scrupulous**, / and foolish, but wee will be so no more.	K1r, 18	ADD	Adds emphasis to 'too scrupulous'. Glossed by Bliss as equalling 'too careful to behave correctly' (pg148 nt.157). Emphasises the absurdity of Pan. and Arbaces's assessment of their behaviour as overly cautious as a defence for their future and present action. (repeated kissing)
KNG	Revels, 4.4.162	Q2	Worse than all these, hotter **I fear** than yours.	Q3	Panthea. ... I feel a sinne growing vpon my bloud,/ Worse then all these,**[ ]** hotter then yours	K1r, 23	ADD	ADD/ omission. As in K1r, 12, where Hawkins mindfully restores a rhetorical balance in the phrase with the 'thou' that follows. This seems a similar act, but removing the 'I fear' from what metrically is an overly long line, H. creates a parallel phrase **balance** that adds some **poetic** gravity and a poignant simplicity to the line that matches Panthea's **characterisation.**
KNG	Revels, 4.4.165 SD	Q2	Exeunt.	Q3	Exeunt **seueral ways.**	K1r, 27	ADD	This is one of two identical and unique additions to SD (the other is in Philaster). Shows **Dramatic sensibility** and provides a **readerly image** that suits the scene and helps the reader. I**t also suggests that the annotator of Philaster is the same as King.**
KNG	Revels, 4.4.165 SD	Q2	Exeunt.	Q3	Exeunt **seueral ways.**	K1r, 27	SD	This is one of two identical and unique additions to SD (the other is in Philaster). Shows **Dramatic sensibility** and provides a **readerly image** that suits the scene and helps the reader. I**t also suggests that the annotator of Philaster is the same as King.**

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
KNG	Revels, 5.1.57	Q2	And now his sides look like **to** wicker targets	Q3	And now his sides looke like **two** wicker Targets,	K2r, 18	VSCm	The use of 'two' fits contextual reading. Bliss glosses 'Targets' as 'shields' (pg151). Counting the two sides, and also from the line above's interest in numbers: 'That haz not bin thrice broken with dry beating' (k2r, 17, 5.1.56).
KNG	Revels, 5.3.74	Q2	Bac. What's that in your pocket, slave, **my toe** you / mungrell?	Q3	Bac. What's that in your pocket, **hurts my toe** you mungrell?	L1v, 21	Vw	**Contextual** relevance to Bacurious's worry that the two swords men will 'hurt my foot' (5.3.66) made this variant close enough that it was kept through Q6 and F. Bliss also notes that it 'persisted in editions through Whalley-Wilson (1930)'.
KNG	Revels, 5.3.92	Q2	Twill keep me i good **breath**.	Q3	Bac. 'till keepe me in good **health**.	L2r, 2	Vw	Example where both are fine, H. makes a **contextual** reading that would seem less **poetic/archaic** but perhaps also more accessible to his Caroline ear.
KNG	Revels, 5.4.9	Q2	To **an** incestuous ravishing	Q3	Arbaces. ... To **that** incestous rauishing	L2r, 25	Vw	**Specific**. This variant suggests that he does not always appreciate the removedness of the elevated **poetic** language.
KNG	Revels, 5.4.70	Q2	Curses **[ ]** incurable and all the evils	Q3	Arbaces. ... Curses more **incurable**, and all the euils	L3r, 30	ADD	This addition creates a set of 6 full iambic feet. **(meter)**
KNG	Revels, 5.4.214-15	Q2	And **God was humbly thanked** in every church, / **That so had blessed the Queen**, and prayers were made	Q3	Gobrius. ... And **humble thankes was giuen** in euery Church, / **[ ]**And prayers were made / For her safe going and deliuery	M1v, 24-25	VBla	In this extensive revision initiated by Hawkins's editing of references to God, the change to 'humble thanks' removes the body that would have blessed the Queen, making that phrase irrelevant. Perhaps the direct reference to a Queen, even one being blessed, given the context of the Queen carrying out a fake pregnancy, was thought by Hawkins to be too risky. He is generally consistent with his removal of mentions of God in all his plays, this is a most intense example. **(whole image / VBla)**
KNG	Revels, 5.4.265	Q2	**Mar**. The best newes	Q3	**Arb**. The best newes	M2v, 10	SP	Correction of SP that is proof of reading the text. Q2 has Mardonius speaking this and the next speech when it is a continuation of Arbaces's speech beginning at 5.4.261.
LLL	Arden 3, 1.1.13	F1	Our court shall be a little **achademe**	Q2	Our Court shall be a little **Academe**	A2r, 18	VSCr	Spelling is accepted by modern editions and also appears in F2 (does not mean that Q2 was consulted). Is only acknowledged in Arden 2 not Arden 3. Same fix is made again at 4.3.326. **(consistency)**

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
LLL	Arden 3, 1.2.156-57	F1	It is **not** for prisoners to **be silent** in their words, and therefore I will say nothing	Q2	Clow. It **is for** prisoners **to be silent** in their words, and there- / fore I will say nothing	B3v, 28-29	ADD	F1 TLN361-489. F1 omits 'too' in 'be too silent' and it appears that Q2 editor responds to the new F1 line by omitting 'not' in the first phrase to make sense of the phrase in the context of the larger sentence. Unfortunately, the editor did not take into account Costard's characteristic misuse of language and corrects it to a **literally** correct meaning.
LLL	Arden 3, 2.1.179	F1	Boy. Lady, I will commend you to **my owne** heart.	Q2	Boy. Lady, I will commend you to **mine owne** heart	C2v, 8	Vw	Q1= my none. Q2 takes a liberty with F1's correction of the Q1, might be described as more **poetic** sounding. SP in both F and Q2 is generally considered wrong, line is assigned to Berowne in all modern eds. after Q1.
LLL	Arden 3, 4.1.65-66	F1	The magnanimous and most **illustrate** King Cophetua	Q2	The magnanimous &most **illustrious** King Cophetua	D3r, 22-3	Vw	Both Arden 2 and Arden 3 gloss Q2's 'illustrious' as a synonym for 'illustrate' w/ Arden 2. David noting that it appears 'as early as 1526 in good English writers' in an attempt to assure our modern ears that it is an elevated form. In 1630, however, it didn't sound right the ear of the editor of Q2 who changed it to the version that incidentally is also more familiar to our modern ears. **(modernise)**
LLL	Arden 3, 4.1.70	F1	hee came one; see, two; **couercame** three	Q2	he came one; see [ ]two; **ouercame** three	D3r, 27	VSCm	Q2 is the first edition to correct this spelling which appears to be a compositor error accepted by all modern eds. Part of the grouping in the letter on D3r. Also a better use of punctation with the removal of the comma after 'see' in F1. Misspelling occurs again in F2 = not referring to Q2 for copytext. Appears in F3/F4
LLL	Arden 3, 4.1.73-74	F1	The conclusion is victorie: On whose side? the **King**:	Q2	The conclusion is victorie: on whose side? the **Kings**:	D3r, 30-31	VSCm	Grammar correction of F1 and Q1's lack of the possessive is universally accepted by modern editions. Appears in F3/F4. Oxford ed. (Hibbard) lists Q2 spelling as 'Kinges' but is not in the Q2 I am using.
LLL	Arden 3, 4.1.86	F1	Don **Adriana** de Armatho.	Q2	Don **Adriano** de Armatho.	D3v, 2	VSNC	Q2 is the first edition to provide the spelling accepted by Arden 2&3 and Oxford (Hibbard).
LLL	Arden 3, 4.1.147	F1	Shoote **within**.	Q2	Shoote **with him**.	D4r, 35	SD	Even though this SD is centred in F1 with space above and below, for some reason, Q2 reads this as a line and, drawing from the context of Costard's speech, resets it to be a final curse against Boyet.
LLL	Arden 3, 4.2.29	F1	for those parts that **do** fructify	Q2	for those parts that **[ ]** fructifie	D4v, 26	ADD	Omits 'do' perhaps since this is in a prose phrase and has no real impact on meter. If a pattern were to emerge, it might be to making the language a bit less lofty. But alone, it looks like a simple eye skip.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
LLL	Arden 3, 4.2.78	F1	vir **sapis** qui pauca loquitur	Q2	Vir **sapit** qui pauca loquitur	E1v, 3	VSFL	'It's a wise man who says little; Few words show men wise' (Tilley W799). Q2 is the first edition to correct 'sapere' to the tense used in all modern editions.
LLL	Arden 3, 4.2.123	F1	**Ouiddius** Naso	Q2	**Ovidius** Naso	E2r, 4	VSNC	Q2 corrects the spelling of Ovid's name to the standard accepted version.
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.48	F1	Lon. Am I the first **y(t)** haue been periur'd so?	Q2	Lon. Am I the first**, that** haue beene periur'd so?	E3r, 14	VS	Q2 expands contraction and adds a comma which matches the phrasing of Longaville's other lines here. **(modernisation)**
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.97 SD	F1	**Dumane** reades his Sonnet.	Q2	**Dumaine** reades his Sonnet.	E3v, 31	VSNC	Q2 corrects the spelling of Dumaine's name in this SD.
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.97 SD	F1	**Dumane** reades his Sonnet.	Q2	**Dumaine** reades his Sonnet.	E3v, 31	SD	Q2 corrects the spelling of Dumaine's name in this SD.
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.199	F1	Dum. It is **Berowns** writing,	Q2	Dum. It is **Berownes** writing	F1r, 24	VSNC	Q2 corrects the spelling of Berowne's name .
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.238-9	F1	Ber...A withered Hermite, fiuescore winters worne,/ Might shake **off** fiftie, looking in her eye:	Q2	Ber...A withered Hermite, fiuescore winters worne, / Might shake **of** fifty, looking in her eye	F1v, 28-9	VSCm	Perhaps a misreading as a palsied older hermit, but more likely a compositorial omission.
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.246	F1	Berow. ... O who can giue an **oth**?	Q2	O who can giue an **oath**?	F1v, 36	VSCm	Q2 corrects the spelling back to Q1 spelling.
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.253	F1	Ber. **Diuels** soonest tempt resemblings spirits of light	Q2	Ber. **Devils** soonest tempt resembling spirits of light.	F2r, 4	VSCm	Q2 corrects the spelling back to Q1 spelling. At 4.3.271 the same word is spelt incorrectly: 'Divel' after F1.
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.264	F1	King. And AEthiops of their sweet complexion **crake**.	Q2	King. And AEthiops of their sweet complexion **cracke**.	F2r, 15	VSCm	Q2 makes the correct emendation to the word making its meaning more clear. **(modernisation?)**
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.267	F1	Ber[owne]. Your mistresses dare neuer come in raine, / For feare **their** colours should be washt away.	Q2	Ber. Your Mistresses dare neuer come in raine, / For feare **her** colours should be washt away.	F2r, 17-18	Vw	Q2 editor seems to have been caught up in the repetition of 'her' in the back and forth between the men here. However, Berowne is actually referring collectively to Longaville, Dumaine, and the King's mistresses so, his use of 'her' instead of 'their' as appears in Q1 and F1 is inconsistent. It shows a vague reference to content, but not to micro details of line by line correction. In this way, it is consistent with the spot corrections of other VSCm in this section (F1v-F2r).

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.291+ (13)	F1	Berowne... The sinnowy vigour of the **trauailer**.	Q2	Berowne...The sinnowy vigour of the **traueller**.	F2v, 17	VSCm	This line is part of the non-conflated lines which originally appeared in Q1, F1 and Q2. It is found in the Arden 3 index 2.1 but appears in full in Arden 2 4.3.304. Q1 and Arden 2 use the same spelling as Q2. Q2 makes the same correction again at l1, 24 (5.2.550).
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.294	F1	Berowne... For when would you (my **Leege**) or you, or you?	Q2	Berowne... For when would you (my **Liege**) or you, or you?	F2v, 30	VS	**(modernisation)**
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.299	F1	Berowne... And therefore, finding **barraine** practizers,	Q2	Berowne... And thefore finding **barren** practizers	F2v, 35	VSCm	Along the lines of travailer / traveler in 4.3.291, this variant spelling appears to take a more obscure spelling (almost a French pronunciation?) and replaces it with a more recognisable version. **(modernisation)**
LLL	Arden 3, 4.3.313	F1	Berowne...Loues tongue proues dainty, **Bachus** grosse in taste,	Q2	Berowne...Loues tongue proues dainty, **Bacchus** grosse in taste,	F3r, 10	VSNC	Q2 adjusts to the standard spelling of 'Bacchus'.
LLL	Arden 3, 5.1.9	F1	Ped. Noue hominum **tanquam** te,	Q2	Ped. Novi hominumtanqua [m] te	F3v, 28	VSFL	Q2 correctly contracts the 'tanquam' with the bar over the terminal 'a' in Holofernes's line.
LLL	Arden 3, 5.1.13-14	F1	Ped. ... too odde, as it were, too **peregrinat**, as I may call it.	Q2	Ped. too odde, as it were too **pereginate**, as I may call it.	F3v, 31-2	VS	Q2 presents the accepted spelling in modern eds. means 'having the air of a traveller or foreigner'. An obscure word according to R. W. David (Arden 2).
LLL	Arden 3, 5.1.19	F1	Peda. ... such rackers of **ortagriphie**	Q2	such rackers of **ortographie**	F4r, 3	VS	Q2 improves upon the Q1 and F1 spelling of 'orthography'.
LLL	Arden 3, 5.1.30	F1	Peda. Video & **gaudio**	Q2	Peda. Video, & **gaudeo**	F4r, 13	VSFL	Meaning 'I see and I'm glad' w/ Gaudio appearing in Q&F, Q2 is the first edition to use the parallelism accepted by Arden 2 and 3 and which H.R. Woudhuysen describes as characteristic of Holofernes tendency towards parallelisms (226). **A good emendation.**
LLL	Arden 3, 5.1.46	F1	Peda. Ba, **puericia** with a horne added.	Q2	Peda. Ba, **pueritia** with a horne added.	F4r, 28	VSFL	Q2 uses the spelling accepted in Arden 2 & 3, varying from F and Q1. Meaning 'childishness'.
LLL	Arden 3, 5.1.80	F1	Bra. Sir, it is the Kings **most** sweet pleasure	Q2	Bra. Sir, it is the Kings [ ] sweet pleasure	F4r, 22	ADD	Q2 omits this word with no real change in meaning suggesting a possible compositorial eye skip.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
LLL	Arden 3, 5.1.87	F1	Ped. I doe assure **you** sir, I doe assure.	Q2	Ped. I doe assure **[ ]** sir, I doe assure.	F4r, 27	ADD	Q2 omits this word in the context of other similar omissions, it seems more like an accidental omission, than a substantive emendation. Unless you want to argue that it is a parallelism like Woudhuysen notes as characteristic of Holofernes, but that seems a stretch in the overall profile of the editing in this Q
LLL	Arden 3, 5.1.119	F1	Peda. ... Iudas **Machabeus**	Q2	Peda. Judas **Maccabeus**	G1r, 16	VSNC	Q2 varies from Q1 and F1 to produce the first appearance of the modern accepted spelling **modernisation**
LLL	Arden 3, 5.2.43	F1	Ros. Ware **pensals**.	Q2	Ros. Ware **pensils**.	G2r, 7	VS	Q2 varies from Q1 and F1 to produce the first appearance of the modern accepted spelling **modernisation**
LLL	Arden 3, 5.2.342	F1	Qu. Then wish me better, I wil giue **you** leaue.	Q2	Qu. Then wish me better, I will giue [ ] leaue.	H2r, 26	ADD	Q2 omits this word included in Q and F and Arden 2,3 and Oxford (Hibbard)
LLL	Arden 3, 5.2.348	F1	The vertue of your eie must breake my **oth**.	Q2	The vertue of your eye must breake my **oath**.	H2r, 32	VS	King's line: Q2 neglects to correct the exact same variant 5.2.451, sig H3v, 29
LLL	Arden 3, 5.2.356	F1	{princess} Of heauenly **oaths**, vow'd with integritie.	Q2	Of heauenly **oath**, vow'd with integritie.	H2v, 2	VSCm	Q2 use of the singular enables the princess to refer to the specific oath taken by the King and his Lords of forsaking women during their study. While plausible, it is not accepted by Arden 2,3, or Oxford (Hibbard) over the QF 'oaths' **possible perfecting**
LLL	Arden 3, 5.2.361	F1	[Qu.] A messe of **Russians** left vs but of late.	Q2	[Qu.] A messe of **Russions** left vs but of late.	H2v, 7	VSNC	example of Q2's odder choices for spelling = not a consistent level of quality in perfecting
LLL	Arden 3, 5.2.385	F1	Ros. Which of the Vizards **what** it that you wore?	Q2	Ros. Which of the Vizards **was** it that you wore?	H2v, 33	Vw	Q2 corrects the nonsensical word back to the Q reading. possible compositorial **perfecting = evidence of reading**
LLL	Arden 3, 5.2.398,405	F1	[Ber.] Thrust thy **sharpe** wit quite through my ignorance. / ...Nor woo in rime like a blind-harpers **songue**.	Q2	[Ber.] Thrust thy **scarpe** wit quite through my ignorance. / ... Nor woo in rime like a blind-harpers **song**.	H3r, 9, 16	VSCm	an interesting example of compositorial errors - in F1 the appearance of 'songue' in this unusual spelling may be a result of seeing 'tongue' on two lines above (its end line rhyme pair) a similar similarity may have caused the appearance of 'scarpe' in Q2 as it is almost directly below scorne on line 8. In terms of Q2's profile this is just one example of the perplexity of the variant quality ranging from useful to detrimental w/in lines of each other.
LLL	Arden 3, 5.2.529	F1	[Armado] I wish you the peace of minde most royall **cupplement**.	Q2	[Armado] I which you the peace of minde most royall **complement**.	H4v, 36	Vw	seems like Q2 editor here did not consider 'cupplement' either a sensical word or the best word. Interestingly, it was replaced by a word that looked similar - much like would have happened in a manuscript situation if the word as illegible and the scribe made a guess based on what the word looked like. = perhaps a problem with the copytext here? **perfecting**

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
LLL	Arden 3, 5.2.578	F1	[Costard] ...alas, you see, how**'tis** a little ore-parted.	Q2	[Costard]... alas you see, how **it's** a little ore-parted	I1v, 15-16	VSCm	Perhaps a **modernisation**/style change.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 1.2.86	Q1	Quo. Goe, make my course **commodities, looke, seeke,**	Q2	[Quomodo]. Goe, make my course **commodities looke sleeke,**	A4v, 14	VSCm	Example of **annotating reader.** An emendation that clarifies dialogue and actually gives it a bit of smoothness creating easier reading in the meter than the choppy commas of Q1 (Massai's 3rd pt re: annotating readers 2007: 14). Both Levin and Ox Midd. follow Q2.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 1.2.107	Q1	Quo: Why the fayrest to cleaue the **heire** in twayne, I meane his Title	Q2	Quo. Why the fayrest to cleaue the **haire** in twaine, I meane his Title	B1r, 8	VSCm	Possible example of visual cognate. The result is not better than authorised text, nor accepted by Oxford Middleton nor Levin (Edward Arnold edition 1966).
MMT	MiddletonCW, 1.2.147	Q1	Sale: **Whose tis?** in the name of the blacke Angels, Andre Gruill.	Q2	[Salewood] **Who's this?** in the name of the blacke Angels, Andre Gruill.	B1v, 16	VSCm	Another possible example of an annotating reader clarifying sense of dialogue. This revision was followed by Dyce , Bullen 1885, Sampson 1915, and Schelling 1949 (Levin 14). While Price conjectured that Q1 is a misreading of the ms. making modern changes to 'Who? Tis!' (the authorised variant now) the Q2 can be read as a thoughtful clarification of the use of 'whose' (Massai's 3rd pt re: annotating readers 2007: 14).
MMT	MiddletonCW, 1.2.204	Q1	[Cockstone]: First dogs take **paines** to make it fit for men, / Then men take **payne** to make it fit for dogs	Q2	[Cockstone] First dogs take **paines** to make it fit for men, / Then men take **paines** to make it fit for dogs.	B2r, 34	VSCm	Creates a **parallelism** which attempts to clarify what is perceived by the agent as an error. It is deemed less idiomatic by Levin. Q2 is accepted by Dyce, Bullen 1885, Sampson 1915, and Schelling 1949. In this way it is related to the rhetorical balance that runs through Hawkins's Othello and symptomatic of an **annotating reader who is less aware of word-play**, but interested in more refining than just simple SPs and SDs. It is consistent with the kinds of changes seen throughout Meighen's Quartos.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 1.2.276, 280	Q1	Mo: ... Mo:	Q2	Moth: ... Moth:	B3r, 26, 29	SP	Standardisation of SPs to four-letter form.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 1.2.294-5	Q1 (uncor.)	[Lethe] You must take heed how you speak illof him **now I can [ ] you**	Q2	[Lethe] You must take heed how you speake ill of him **I can tell you now**	B3v, 6-7	ADD	Levin pts. out that Q2 was printed from an uncorrected copy of Q1 that accounts for the variation in the placement of 'now' (in corrected Q1 it reads "now I can tell you"). Levin acknowledges the sensible addition of 'tell' noting that if the Q1 proof reader hadn't had the ms. to check, 'he probably would have treated the original error the same way as Q2' (Levin 1966: 21). Also followed by Dyce, Bullen 1885, Sampson 1915, and Schelling 1949.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
MMT	MiddletonCW, 2.1.156	Q1	**Let**.	Q2	**Leth.** Mistris Quomodo. / Toma. Enquire my right name agen next time,	C2v, 5	SP	Q1 uses a "Let." SP that is different from rest of page. Therefore, we can read Q2 as a correction of this.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 2.1.176	Q1	Sh.	Q2	Sho.	C2v, 26	SP	As with C2v,5, this SP is diff. from the SP for "Shortyard" on the rest of the page and is corrected by Q2.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 2.3.62	Q1	[Tomasine.] That makes so few of e'm marrie with our Daughters, vnlies it be one green **foote** or other	Q2	[Tomasine.] That makes so few of e'm marrie with our Daughters, vnles it be one green **foole** or other	C4r, 30-31	VSCm	Q1's use of 'foote' probably resulting from a misreading of ms.. Q2 change is accepted by both Levin and Oxford Middleton. Annotating Reader.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 2.3.68-69	Q1	Eas.	Q2	Fals.	F1v, 24	SP	First occurrence replacing Q1 'Eas.' SP for 'Fals.'. Falselight has recently exited this scene in all modern eds. which follow Q1. However, since Falselight's exit is noted in neither Q1 nor Q2 it is forgivable that a reader might miss this (see 3.2.3).
MMT	MiddletonCW, 2.3.116, 131, 138, 140, 143, 150	Q1	Easi.	Q2	Eas.	D1r (all SPs)	SP	All the SPs on page D1r reflect this new variation in Q1 where in other places the Q2 is generally consistent with Q1. Oddly enough, on the verso side of this page, there are a couple of uses of 'Easi.' in the Q2 where they do NOT appear in the Q1.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 2.3.320	Q1	Sho. Quomodo **should** hang, rot, stinke.	Q2	[Shortyard] Quomodo **shall** hang, rot, stinke.	D3v, 5	Vw	This change to what appears to be an acceptable reading in Q1, does not seem to be motivated by any typographical circumstances. It may be an instance of AR playing with what sounds right/modernisation. AR=Reading.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 3.1.00 SD	Q1	Enter Lethes...and **[ ] a Tyrewomen** busie about her head.	Q2	Enter Lethes...and **Mistris Comings** a **Tyrewoman** busie about her head.	E1v, 22-25	SD	Q2 makes an important addition to this stage direction that is reliant upon knowledge of the text and incorporating detail into the SD. AR=SD Knowledge of names also related to interest in correcting the SP for Mistris Comings at 3.1.70.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 3.1.70	Q1	Coin.	Q2	Com.	E2v, 20	SP	Q1's use of SP 'Coin.' perhaps resulted from trouble reading the ms. Q2 agent corrects this to the accepted attribution in all modern editions to 'Mistris Comings' - a link with the awareness of Mistris Comings in the opening SD to act three AR=SP
MMT	MiddletonCW, 3.1.126	Q1	[Hellgill]...tis but new kindled yet, if twere **risse** to a flame, I could not blame you the[n]	Q2	[Hellgill]...tis but new kindled yet, if twere **rissen** to a flame, I could not blame you then	E3r, 35-36	VSCm	While Levin uses the Q1 spelling, his gloss 'risen' mirrors the Q2 change, affirming the Q2 editor's instinct that the Q1 reading might need clarification. This might be a good example of what is an error. Ox Middleton also retains 'risse'.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 3.1.152	Q1	Leeh.	Q2	Leth.	E3v, 23	SP	Corrects SP.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
MMT	MiddletonCW, 3.1.183	Q1	Let.	Q2	Leth.	E4r, 16	SP	Corrects SP resists the same SP on E4v.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 3.1.263	Q1	Grui. ; Guil.; Gru.; Gru.	Q2	Gruil (all four)	F1r, 10, 18, 26, 27	SP	Minor spelling fix. Occurs even in instance where Mother Gruel's line occurs in the same line as Lethe. Standardisation of SPs sim. to Merry Wives? AR=SP
MMT	MiddletonCW, 3.1.289	Q1	[Courtesan]... Master **Lethe**	Q2	[Courtesan] Master **Lethes**	F1v, 5	VSNC	Another example of a consistent change (though not accepted by modern eds. as the proper spelling) w/ 4.4.79. **(Consistent proofing/style)**
MMT	MiddletonCW, 3.2.3	Q1	Eas.	Q2	Fals.	F1v, 24	SP	Second time SP 'Fals.' for Falselight is used for a line attributed to Easy in Q1. All modern eds. follow Q1 (see 2.3.68-69).
MMT	MiddletonCW, 3.4.90	Q1	[Shortyard] ...some **batchler**, some masters, some doctors of captivitie	Q2	[Shortyard]. ...some **batchleers**, some masters, some doctors of captiuitie	F4r, 6	VSCm	While both Levin and Oxford Middleton have silently modernised Q2's spelling and punctuation to 'bach'lors', Q2 does correct the case/number of the bachelors in question. Is a milder example of AR=reading than would be if the form presented were the actual spelling. Is this an error?
MMT	MiddletonCW, 3.4.136-139	Q1	[Quomodo.] O maister Easie, of all men liuing I neuer **dream** you would ha done me this iniurie ...**ring** my state into suspition	Q2	[Quomodo]. O master Easie, of all men liuing I neuer **dream't** you would ha done me this injurie ... **bring** my state into suspition	F4v, 11-13	Vw	Both Levin and Ox Middleton retain these Q2 changes. Evidence of correction AR=Reading clarify. Q1 section has some large spaces here. Maybe loose type or misreading ms.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 4.1.45	Q1	[Quomodo] ...my sonne and heyre Sim **Qmomodo**	Q2	[Quomodo]. ...my sonne / and heyre Sim **Quomodo**	G3v, 35-36	VSNC	Correct mis-setting of name. AR=awareness of fictive world of the play through details. Also related to interest in SPs.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 4.3.23 SD	Q1	Enter Tomazin with Winefride her maide in **hast**.	Q2	Enter Tomazin with Winefride her maide in **haste**.	H1v, 10-11	SD	An annotating reader's correction of the misspelling in the SD? Also a proofreading correction?
MMT	MiddletonCW, 4.4.35-36, 40-1	Q1	Sim. ... what honesty didst thou ere know by my **Father** speake, rule your tongue Beadle **least** I make you proue it, / ...I would I might be hang'd, I **feare** such filthye Tales goe on him	Q2	Sim. ...what honesty didst thou ere know by my **Father?** speake, rule your tongue Beadle **lest** I make you proue it / .....I would I might be hang'd, I **heare** such filthy tales goe on him	H2v, 32-3, 37-8	VSCm	A pair of effective clarifications and an incisive punctuation that clarifies the delivery of Sim.'s pointed question. AR=reading by the Q2 agent that are accepted by Levin and the Oxford Middleton.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
MMT	MiddletonCW, 4.4.79	Q1	[Rearage] But **Lethe lyes'ith** way.	Q2	[Rearage] But **Lethes'th** way.	H2r, 32	VSNC	Another example of a consistent change (though not accepted by modern eds. as the proper spelling) w/ 3.1.289. Consistent proofing/style. This emendation appears to be also a sight of possible confusion with the copytext that was awkwardly repaired.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 5.1.71-4	Q1	[Quomodo.] **Whose? tis** Easie, what makes easie in my house,	Q2	[Quomodo]. **Who's? this Easie**, what makes Easie in my house	I1r, 7	VSCm	This is one of a pair of identical emendations to *Michaelmas Term* text in Q2. Modern editions do not accept this reading. The punctuation is a bit muddled (it is following the Q1). The attempt to use the play on words with 'Easie' shows an attempt to work the context of the line w/in the fictive world of the play. AR = reading
MMT	MiddletonCW, 5.1.102	Q1	[Tomasine.] y'are beset little **Qnomodo**.	Q2	[Tomasine.] ...y'are beset little **Quomodo**.	I1r, 2	VSNC	Correct mis-setting of name. AR=awareness of fictive world of the play through details. Related to interest in SPs.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 5.3.15	Q1	Quo. Oh are you come? **my Lord? their** here, good morrow Tomazin.	Q2	Quo. Oh are you come? **my Lord, they'r** here, good morrow Tomazin.	I1v, 28-29	VP	Both the Q2 agent and all modern editions reject Q1's use of "my Lord?". While the Oxford Middleton and Levin are able to foresee that the "?" used in Q1's "my Lord?" was meant to be a "!", Q2's editorial agent was less invasive, yet sought to clarify the strange usage with just the comma. This choice was followed by Dyce et al in seq. and Price who notes that 'the Q2 comma has Quomodo announce to the Judge what he already knows' (Levin 120). This suggests reasonable intention and awareness of fictive world of the play in this Q2 variant.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 5.3.75	Q1	Quo. **I,** warrant yee.	Q2	Quo. **I [ ]** warrant yee.	I2v, 18	VP	Levin notes that Q2's removal of the comma here changes the Q1's use of 'I' (= 'Aye') to the phrase 'I warrant' which appears repeatedly in the play (Levin 123). Another instance where the Q2 agent demonstrates his familiarity with the linguistic style of the play.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 5.3.111	Q1	[Lethe]...let me not marrie an inward, whose **lastes** will nere out, but growe worse and worse	Q2	[Lethe] ... let me not marrie an inward, whose **lashes** wil nere out, but grow worse and worse	I3r, 25-26	Vw	This Q2 reading is accepted by both Levin and Oxford Middleton. Levin glosses the lashes as 'whip-marks will never disappear' (Levin 125). AR= reading clarification.
MMT	MiddletonCW, 5.3.140	Q1	[Lethe] **Maister** Quomodo. / Toma. Enquire my right name agen next time,	Q2	Leth. **Mistris** Quomodo. / Toma. Enquire my right name agen next time,	I3v, 19	VSNC	At this line, Lethe refers to Tomasine by her married name, which the judge has just declared, to her dismay, as still Quomodo instead of Easie. In what was probably a carry over of a ms. error repeated in Q1, Q2's agent reading and following along in the action, corrects the reference to the correct character. AR= name
MT	Revels, 1.1.7-8	Q1,Q2	**masques** can be. // **masques** can be?	Q3	as **maske** can be. ///as **maske** can be?	A2r, 10-11	VSCm	All subsequent Qs follow Q3 despite its awkwardness.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
MT	Revels, 1.1.140	Q1,Q2	Accompanied with graces all **about her**	Q3	Accompanied with graces **above her**	A3r, 22	Vw	Theobald follows Q3 to use 'far above her'.
MT	Revels, 1.1.152	Q1,Q2	challenge **gentlemen** (Q1) **challenge** (Q2)	Q3	There is no place that I can challenge **in't**.	A4r, 3	Vw	Craik 1988 argues that Q3's emend. restores the line that was misinterpreted in Q1 and then not properly corrected in Q2. Shows reading for **METER.**
MT	Revels, 1.2.3	Q1,Q2	i'th the (Q1,Q2)	Q3	the King will have the show **i'th** court	A4v, 7-8	VSCr	Q3 corrects the misprint not corrected in Q2.
MT	Revels, 1.2.11	Q1,Q2	I **shall** never keep them out	Q3	I **will** never keep them out	B1r, 15	Vw	Change could reflect Diagoras's status as a servant. Also the preference for **definitive** lang. There may be a similar var. in OTH.
MT	Revels, 1.2.14	Q1,Q2	judge	Q3	Ile be **iudgde** by all the company, wheher thou hast not a worse face then I.	A4v, 18	VT	Although misspelled, Q3 is the first ed. to correct the tense.
MT	Revels, 1.2.84	Q1,Q2	They shall be **braved** by such ignoble men	Q3	They shall be **bran'd** by such ignoble men	B1v, 15	VSCr	Viewed in isolation, this variant seems to make less sense than the Q2, but in the context of other subst. vr. in Hawkins's texts- the ('d) is often used to smooth the meter. In that case this could be a case of turned letter 'n' making 'bran'd' instead of 'brav'd'. **(METER)**
MT	Revels, 1.2.150	Q2	not in Q1; **with** (Q2)	Q3	and **wish** the night, Crown'd with a thousand starres	B2v, 19	VSCm	wish=desire (Craik) Restores the sense of the original sentence.
MT	Revels, 1.2.163	Q1,Q2	And of his long night let him make **thy** day (Q1) **this**	Q3	And of this long night let him make **a** day	B2v, 32	Vw	
MT	Revels, 1.2.179	Q1,Q2	**winde goe** (Q1, Q2)	Q3	And charge the **winde flie** from his rockie den	B3r, 15	Vw	Craik changes to 'Wind god' following Aeolus the wind god as mentioned in Marlow's Dido, Queen of Carthage I,1,115. 'Goe' is misreading of secretary d/e. In Q3 though, this emendation becomes a more **poetic** reading better suited to the lang. of the God. May be linked to variants 'intention' (Q3) and 'intentions' (Q2) B3r, 17.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
MT	Revels, 1.2.192, 198	Q1,Q2	**O** the wind; **O** the the Maine	Q3	**Hoe** the wind; **Hoe**! the Main	B3r, 28; B3v, 3	Vw	The consistency of these two variants in conjunction with the correction of Favonius 6 lines later (B3r, 34) suggests a cluster of subst. variants from annotating reader. Nautical lang. perhaps remin. of OTH? ('Ho' occurs again at B4r, 34 in Q2 & Q3) Suggests reading back to see the variation.
MT	Revels, 1.2.194	Q1,Q2	Fanonius	Q3	Favonius	B3r, 34	VSNC	Q3 corrects the name of Favonius the west wind (Craik).
MT	Revels, 1.2.221	Q2	Pace out you **watery** powers below	Q3	pace out you **wat'ry** powers below	B3v, 31	VSCr	As seen in other places, the use of the apost. repairs **meter** (1.2.84).
MT	Revels, 1.2.243	Q2	not in Q1; **Amphitrites**	Q3	The tunes my **Amphitrite** ioyes to haue,	B4r, 20	VSNC	Creates 4th syllable (Craik) for name of Neptune's queen.
MT	Revels, 1.2.289	Q1,Q2	kingdoms (Q1, Q2)	Q3	That may defend my **Kingdome** from my foes.	B4v, 37	VSCm	Craik pts. out that in act 4,2.169-70 Melantius is mentioned as having 'conquests'. This knowledge would prb. be known to the author and to the textual critic, but the annotator who is reading as his is going is showing attention to the detail in the present moment of his reading. Shows that he was changing as he went along as opposed to after he read. (cf turner)
MT	Revels, 2.1.123	Q1,Q2	with **[ ]** prayers	Q3	So with **my** prayers I leaue you, and must trie	C2v, 31	ADD	Craik adopts Q3's emendation because it restores the **meter** and he sees 'no point in the metrical irregularity of Q1 and Q2'. Also may be the more **definitive characterisation** as in Othello.
MT	Revels, 2.1.263	Q1,Q2	trust	Q3	Oh we vaine men That **trust out** all our reptuation	D1r, 3-4	ADD	Craik observes Q1 and Q2 leave 'a defective line' (93) suggesting that Q3 may actually be right. It does apply a more specific detail that works in the context of Amintor's image of giving away in vain.
MT	Revels, 2.1.266	Q1,Q2	doe	Q3	Thy flesh is soft, and in thine eyes **doth** dwell / The spirit of loue,	D1r, 7	VT	Craik sees the doe as 'a printer's error' in Q1, uncorrected in Q2 and "guessingly corrected in Q3" (93).
MT	Revels, 2.2.16	Q1,Q2	be sure you credit any thing the light gives **life** to	Q3	bee sure you credit any thing the light gives **light** to	D2v, 26	Vw	This may be a case of eye skip. The context is a stretch here and goes against tendency to avoid repetition.
MT	Revels, 2.2.81	Q1,Q2	Make a **dumbe** silence till you feel..	Q3	Make a **dull** silence till you feele a sudden sadness/ give us new soules.	D3v,18	Vw	While this variant may not be the most satisfying, it could be a **context** change in terms of relating back to a similar use of 'Dull' at D3r, 36 where Aspatia comments that something is not 'dull and pale enough'. An annotator rather than an author would recycle a word.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
MT	Revels, 3.1.166	Q1,Q2	thou hast taken oathes/ So great, that me thought they did **misbecome** / A womans mouth	Q3	So great, me thought they did n**ot well become** / a womans mouth	E2v, 10	ADD	The annotator's emendation creates a more regular pentameter line. It seems that he did not see the irregular meter already at work in the line by pairing 'that me thought' with 'did misbecome'. Still it is a variant meant to create **meter.**
MT	Revels, 3.1.191	Q1,Q2	Or if I were, you are the King, but **vrge** not	Q3	Or if I were, you are the King, but **vurge mee** not, tis most true.	E2v, 37	ADD	The introduction of 'mee' requires a turn up not req. in Q2 where the whole phrase fits on the line. Suggests not a space compositor adjustment but an emendation by someone more concerned with the content than the typography. In terms of style/intention, this addition is consistent with the kinds of emends. seen in Othello that clarify /make directions more **specific.**
MT	Revels, 3.2.143-43	Q1,Q2	Amin. Not on thee, did thine anger **goe as hie**/ As **troubled waters...**	Q3	Amint. Not on thee, did thine anger **swell** as hie / As **the vvilde surges**...	F2v, 5-6	ADD	A **poetic,** and **nautical, whole image** emendation showing the annotator at his best. Probably not a space wasting tech. as the combined changes actually take less space than the Q2 version.
MT	Revels, 3.2.191	Q1,Q2	Shall steele my sword, and on **my** horrid point/ Ile weare my cause	Q3	Shall steele my sword, and on **its** horrid point / Ile ware my cause	F3r, 22-23	Vw	This variant attempts to **clarify** in a more literal/less poetic change, but it may clarify the image for someone **reading** it.
MT	Revels, 3.2.259	Q1,Q2	but I haue cherist him / **As well as I could,**	Q3	but I have cherist him/ **To my best power**	F4r, 23	ADD	This variant uses the same amount of syllables to try and create a more **definitive** expression in line with the 'power' images of Melantius as the action soldier. **(characterisation)**
MT	Revels, 4.1.7	Q1	Into **commendations**	Q3	Mel. I would not haue your women heare me / Break into **commendation** of you,	G1v, 7	VSCm	
MT	Revels, 4.1.22	Q1,Q2	Mel. Tis yet in they **repentance**, foolish woman,/ To make me gentle.	Q3	Mel. Tis yet in thy **remembrance** foolish woman, / To make me gentle.	G1v, 27	Vw	'Remembrance' seems to ref. back to her memory of their relationship suggesting that she knows how to please her brother. 'in thy remembrance' sounds like a common saying.
MT	Revels, 4.1.33	Q1,Q2	**theres** (there's)	Q3	Looke you intrude no more, there **lies** your way	G2r, 5-6	ADD	While wrong in terms of meter (Craik suggests the pause fills the gap) this is a quick line context fix.
MT	Revels, 4.1.82	Q1,Q2	Mel. ...your great maintainers... will sooner **snatch** meat from a hungry lyon	Q3	Mel. ...your great maintainers... will sooner **fetch** meat from a hungry Lyon	G2v, 17	Vw	**Context** refers to the loyalty of Evadne's servants. A detail that smartly enhances the image.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
MT	Revels, 4.1.136	Q2	Could'st **thee** not curse him	Q3	Could'st **thou** not curse him	G3v, 4	VSCm	Craik accepts Q3.
MT	Revels, 4.1.201	Q1,Q2	that ...**that**; no sacrifice	Q3	That sleight contrition, **thats**; no sacrifice	G4r, 37	VSCm	Q3 corrects **grammar agreement.** Craik follows.
MT	Revels, 4.2.190	Q1,Q2	**Ha, pity**?	Q3	**Pittie** a pox upon you,	H4v, 6	VSCr	Craik suggests the Q3 is missing an exclamation point: 'Pity!'. What it does show is the removal of the 'Ha!' and a change from the question to a more definitive statement by Calianaz. characterisation that would perhaps be less subtle in performance.
MT	Revels, 4.2.195	Q1,Q2	Both you **and me to** forgive distraction	Q3	She understood him not, but it becomes/ Both you **and me too, to** forgiue distraction	H4v, 11	ADD	Craik observes 'Q3's emendation has value as showing how a contemporary heard the rhythm, but it is weak ('too' being tautologous after 'both')' (163-64). Can be grouped with 4.2.190 as a cluster. **(rhythm / meter)**
MT	Revels, 5.2.203	Q1,Q2	till these happie signes in thee/ **Staid** my course, **it was** thither I was going.	Q3	till these happy signes in thee / **Did stay** my course, **t'was** thither I was going.	L1r, 20	VSCr	Possibly a modernisation of **Archaic** lang. (OED places as 16th cent 'staid') Tthe contraction of 'Twas' would remove the extra syllable introduced with 'did'.
MT	Revels, 5.2.209	Q1,Q2	Aspa. I shall **sure** liue Amintor, I am well.	Q3	Aspa. I shall **surely** liue Amintor, I am well	L1r, 26	VSCr	With 5.2.203, perhaps another ex of **Archaic** lang. being modernised to a more modern sounding agreement (adv./verb).
MT	Revels, 5.5.268	Q1,Q2	Amit. Tis Aspatia, / **My last is said**, let me give up my soule/ Into thy bosome.	Q3	Amint. Tis Aspatia, / **My sense fade,** let me giue up my soule into thy bosome.	L2r, 18	ADD	A more **poetic** phrase - possibly more **readerly** as it doesn't call attention to the fact that the character isn't speaking.
MW	Arden 3, 1.1.7	F1	*Rato lorum*	Q3	*Rotulorum*	A2v, 16	VSFL	Q3 ed. misunderstands that misspelling is part of Slender's poor Latin. The word is corrected to the proper form, evidence of missing context/joke.
MW	Arden 3, 1.1.26	F1	**Skirts**	Q3	Euan. ... If hee has a quarter of your coate, there is but three **Shirts** for your selfe	A2v, 11	VSCm	Q3 introduces a unique spelling that is not sensical in the accepted understanding of the Skirts as being the lower sections 'or panels forming the lower section of a long coat' (Melchiori 127). Not used by any modern edition.
MW	Arden 3, 1.1.66	F1	Mr. (Page)	Q3	Euan. ... I will peat the doore for **Master** *Page*.	A3r, 6	VSCr	Here and in two other nearby instances (SPs A3r, 8 & 12), the F1 'Mr.' is written out in full as 'Master' for Page's name. This change is followed in Arden 3, Arden 2, Arden 1, Oxford/Craik.
MW	Arden 3, 1.1.68, 73	F1	Mr. (Page)	Q3	Master Page. (2 instances)	A3r, 8	SP	Here and in two other nearby instances (SPs A3r, 6 & 12), the F1 'Mr.' is written out in full as 'Master' for Page's name.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
MW	Arden 3, 1.1.68, 73	F1	Mr. (Page)	Q3	Master Page. (2 instances)	A3r, 8	VSCr	Here and in two other nearby instances (SPs A3r, 6 & 12), the F1 'Mr.' is written out in full as 'Master' for Page's name.
MW	Arden 3, 1.1.113, 124	F1	Pausa verba; pausa, pausa	Q3	Pauca verba, Pauca, pauca	A3v, 13, 23	VSFL	Latin spelling for this phrase meaning 'few words' is corrected to the proper spelling with 'c' instead of 's' in both places.
MW	Arden 3, 1.1.131	F1	Gater	Q3	Euan. ... mine Host of the **Garter**.	A3v, 29	VSCm	Corrects dropped letter in F1. Q3 is credited and followed in all modern eds.
MW	Arden 3, 1.1.192	F1	Marry this, **Coz**:	Q3	marry this **[ ]** there is...	A4v, 12	ADD	looks like a fairly obv. skip of a word that is repeated multiple times over the surrounding lines by Shallow (F2 follows F1)
MW	Arden 3, 1.3.42	F1	I spie entertainment in her: shee discoures: shee **carues**: she giues the leere of inuitation	Q3	Fal. ...I spie entertainment in her, shee discourses, she **craues**, she giues the leere of inuitation	B2v, 15	VSCm	All modern eds. prefer the F1. The Ardens are invested in the allusion to some kind of decorative gesture associated with actual carving or the duties of a hostess. The Oxford/Craik, though keeping the F1, is less convinced citing OED carve v. 13b 'to show great courtesy' (98). it could be that this use was archaic by the time the Q3 editor was reading the text and this is a poss. case of **modernisation.**
MW	Arden 3, 1.3.83	F1	Fal. Hold Sirha, beare you these Letters **tightly**,	Q3	Fal. Hold Sirha, beare you these Letters **rightly**,	B3r, 9	Vw	Arden 3 notes by the sixteenth century, the use of Q1 'titely' meaning 'quickly speedily' (OED adv.) also found in E3 3.1.77. F1's spelling of the word shared the same meaning. 't' and 'r' are not near each other in the case. poss. Case of **modernisation.**
MW	Arden 3, 1.4.1	F1	Enter Mistris Quickly, Simple, Iohn Rugby, **Doctor, Caius,** Fenton.	Q3	Enter Mistris Quickly, Simple, Iohn Rugby, **Doctor / Caius**, Fenton.	B3v, 2-3	SD	Reader of this SD recognised that 'Doctor' and 'Caius' were the same character and adjusted the punctuation.
MW	Arden 3, 1.4.88	F1	Quickly. ... the very yea, & the no is, **Y[e]** French Doctor my Master,	Q3	Quickly....the very yea, and no is **that** French Doctor my Master	B4v, 12-13	Vw	Use of 'that' instead of 'the' here with a lack of punctuation to divide the phrase 'is, the' makes the phrase a bit of a running phrase that is lost by Quickly in her ramble. The F1 form implies that the Dr. himself, not anything he might do, is the poss. problem. Because it is a combo of lang. and punct. would consider this as a potential **clarification.**
MW	Arden 3, 2.1.1	F1	Mist. Page. What, haue [ ] scap'd Loue-letters in the holly-day-time of my beauty,	Q3	Mi. Page. What, haue **I** scap'd Loue-letters in the holly-day-time of my beauty	C1v, 7	ADD	This addition is accepted by modern editions as a good correction. Arden 1 only mentions that it is omitted in F, Arden 2 & 3 acknowledges Q3, Black 1937 characterises as a grammar/ thought - 'omitted words necessary to completeness of sentence structure' (132).

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
MW	Arden 3, 2.1.29	F1	Mis. Page. And trust, me I was **comming** to you:	Q3	Mis. Page. And trust me, I was **going** to yo[u]	C2r, 1	Vw	This variant might be considered a simple case of eye skip where the compositor grabbed the word from Mistress Ford's line just before 'Mistris Page, trust me, I was going to your house'. In Q3 however, this new line begins a new page, suggesting that there may have been a disruption in setting the text. Alternatively, it may be a case of editor making a **stylistic** change based on context and lang. that intended to increase the comedy of the line with the **repetition**.
MW	Arden 3, 2.1.191	F1	**Shal**.	Q3	**Ford**. None, I protest, but ile giue you a pottle of burn'd sacke, to giue me recourse to him...	C4r, 12	SP	Restores the SP to Ford as appears in Q, but since there is no evidence that Meighen referred to any copytext other than F1, it is reasonable to suggest this is the work of the annotating reader for Q3 preparation.
MW	Arden 3, 2.2.186-189	F1	**fee'd** euery slight occasion that could but nigardly gue mee sight of her: not only **bought** many presents	Q3	Ford. ...Ingross'd opportunites to meete her, **free'd** euery slight occasion that could but nigardly giue mee sight of here, not only **brought** many presents to giue her, but have giuen largely to many	D3r, 1, 3	VSCm	Arden 3 notes 'fee'd .. occasion' as 'procured (fee'd means 'paid a fee for') even the slightest opportunity'. Suggests little change in the general meaning of the phrase. Noting the similarity of 'fee'd' and 'bought' as monetary lang.: the fact that not only 'fee'd' but also 'bought' is likewise changed in Q3 to the pair of 'free'd' and 'brought' (words of possession) suggests intention for the two.
MW	Arden 3, 2.2.276	F1	see the hell of hauing a **false** woman	Q3	Ford. ...see the hell of hauing a **faire** woman:	D4r, 11	Vw	Interestingly, the Q3 choice of 'fair' over 'False', which is used in F1 &F2 and all mod eds, actually fits into the context of the speech, particularly in the context of Ford's summation that Falstaff is the central figure 'him that does me this wrong' (280). The whole speech is about the crimes Falstaff has committed against Ford, whereas Mistress Ford's acts are not mentioned as the central focus, therefore, she is not presented as false. (**context**) In addition, Arden 1 pts. to a similar line in Othello: **'A fellow almost damned in a fair wife'.**
MW	Arden 3, 2.3.1	F1	*Enter Caius, Rugby, Page, Shallow, Slender, Host./ Caius. Iacke Rugby.*	Q3	*Enter Caius, Rugby, Page, Shallow, Slender Host. /* [space] */ Caius.* Iacke Rugby	D4r, 33-4	SD	Clarifies the difference between the SD and the first line of dialogue by inserting space and changing the typeface of the first line. Focus on reading experience.
MW	Arden 3, 3.4.1	F1	Enter Fenton, **Anne, Page,** Shallow, Slender, Quickly, Page, Mist. Page.	Q3	Enter Fenton, **Anne Page,** Shallow, Slender, Quickly, Page, Mist. Page.	F3r, 14-15	SD	A lighter touch of editorial intervention, but one that shows attention to detail and knowledge of character action indicative of AR.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
MW	Arden 3, 4.2.171	F1	good Gentle-/men, let him [ ]strike the old woman	Q3	good Gentle-/men, let him **not** strike the old Woman	H2r, 10	ADD	Black 1937:99 listed as thought/ changes adopted by most eds. Variant adds sense to the line. Credits F2 when this appears first in Q3. Q3 restores Q reading.
MW	Arden 3, 4.2.175	F1	Ford. ... you **rag**,you baggage, you polecat, you runnion	Q3	you Witch, you **Hagge**, you Baggage, you Poulcat, you Runnion...	H2r, 13-14	VSCm	Q3 restores Q reading. F1 = 'rag' followed by Arden 3 (spelling mimicks 'baggage') also it is repeated at line 7 on this same page: 'Ford. ...Come downe you Witch, you Hagge you'. Arden 3 (252) however suggests that this earlier use as 4.2.168 and rag's def. as 'worthless person' 'leaves no reason to accept F3's Hag'. Nevertheless, it is a legitimate reading being a common word for old women believed to be witches. Arden 1 accepts Hag (F3 and modern spelling) however it is also possible that the correction in Q3 arose from the use of 'hag' at line 4.2.168.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.2	F	**I will but** spend a word here (**Ile** spend a word here, Q)	Q2	**I will but** spend a word here	B1v, 3	ADD	Emphasises the haste / tempo of the scene's action more than Q.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.2	F	That **thou** lago (you lago, Q)	Q2	That **thou [ ]**	A2r, 2	ADD	Q2=F1; VSCm; ADD - omission of 'lago', not listed in modern collations
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.2	F	That **thou** lago (you lago, Q)	Q2	That **thou [ ]**	A2r, 2	Q2=F1	VSCm
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.2	F	That **thou** lago (you lago, Q)	Q2	That **thou [ ]**	A2r, 2	VSCr	Q2=F1
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.2	F	who **hast** had my purse (has,Q)	Q2	who **hast** had my purse	A2r, 2	Q2=F1	VSCr
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.2	F	who **hast** had my purse (has,Q)	Q2	who **hast** had my purse	A2r, 2	VSCr	Q2=F1
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.4	F	[ ]but you'll not hear me ('**Sblood**, F)	Q2	[ ]but you'll not hear me	A2r, 4	Q2=F1	VBla
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.4	F	**you'l** not hear me (you will, Q)	Q2	**you'le** not hear me	A2r, 4	Q2=F1	VS - chooses F contraction over Q's more correct lang.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.4	F	[ ]but you'll not hear me ('**Sblood**, F)	Q2	[ ]but you'll not hear me	A2r, 4	VBla	Q2-F1
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.4	F	**you'l** not hear me (you will, Q)	Q2	**you'le** not hear me	A2r, 4	VS	VS - chooses F contraction over Q's more correct lang.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.14	F	[ ] (And in conclusion, Q)	Q2	[ ]	A2r, 15-16	ADD	Q2 chooses to follow F and leave out this line.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.16	F	I have already **chose** my officer (chosen Q)	Q2	I haue already **chose** my Officer	A2r, 15-16	VT	F and Q2 correct tense.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.24	F	Wherein the **tongued** consuls (**toged**, Q)	Q2	Wherin the **tongued** Consuls	A2r, 22	VSCm	Modern eds. choose 'toged'. Arden 3 notes that both are possible, but links 'toged' from Latin 'togatus'=wearing the toga. While Q2 authorises F in this case, it could be a matter of the editor not knowing Latin, and the F choice looking like a correction of Qs spelling.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.29	F	**Christen'd** and heathen must be **be-leed** (**Christian...be led**, Q)	Q2	**Christn'd** and Heathen, must be **be-leed**	A2r, 27	VSCm	Changes from the noun to the verb 'be-leed'. Ridley makes connection to 'be calm'd' and line from 2H6 4.9.32 leads him to suggest that be-lee'd 'means (of a sailing ship) under the lee of an adversary, which thus takes the wind out of her sails and renders her helpless' (1958:5). Another instance of editing with the nautical theme in mind.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.32	Q	**God** bless the mark (--- bless the mark, F)	Q2	**Sir** (blesse the marke)	A2v, 2	Q2=Q1	Q2 also opts for Q1's use of 'Sir' at 5.2.304. VBla
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.32	Q	**God** bless the mark (--- bless the mark, F)	Q2	**Sir** (blesse the marke)	A2v, 2	VBla	Q2=Q1
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.38	F	I in any just term am **affined (assign'd, Q)**	Q2	I, in any iust tearme am **affin'd**	A2v, 10	VSCm	'Affined' is preferred in Arden 2&3, meaning 'bound'. A confusion of long f and s ?
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.42	F	We cannot **all be** masters (**be all**, Q)	Q2	We cannot **all be** masters	A2v, 15	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.47	QF	For **nought** but provender (noughe, Q)	Q2	for **nought** but prouender	A2v, 20	VS	Q2 corrects the incorrect spelling of Q.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.61	F	outward action **doth** demonstrate (**does**, Q)	Q2	outward action **doth** demonstrate	A2v, 36	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.64	F	For **daws** to peck at (**doves** Q)	Q2	For **dawes** to peck at	A3r, 2	VSCm	'Daws' accepted by Arden 3, as 'jackdaws, proverbially foolish'.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.66	F	If he can **carry't** thus (**carry'et**, Q)	Q2	If he can **carry't** thus	A3r, 5	VS	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.79	Q	**Zounds** sir you are	Q2	[ ]Sir you are robd	A3r, 28	Vbla	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.112	QF	Iennits for **Iermans**, Q; Gennets for **Germaines**, F	Q2	Gennets for **Germans**	A3v, 21	VSNC	Q2 corrects the combined misspelling of 'Germans'.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.131-32	F	(if you have not given her leave) I say again (not in Q)	Q2	(if you haue not given her leaue,/ I say againe)	A4r, 3-4	VP	Q2 fixes parenth. to include whole aside. (Arden 2 &3 accept Q2)
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.138	F	For thus **deluding you** (for **this delusion**, Q)	Q2	For thus **deluding you**.	A4r, 10	VT	Changes from the passive to active tense. (Arden 3 accepts)
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.156	F	Lead to the **Sagittary** (Sagittar, Q)	Q2	Lead to the **Sagittary**	A4r, 30	VSNC	Referring to an inn at the sign of Sagitarius, the centaur perhaps alluding to Othello's 'divided nature' (Arden 3). While Honigmann suggests that both Q and F could be right, he notes in TC 5.5.14 'the dreadful Sagittary'.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.163	F	O, **she deceaues** me past thought. ('**thou decievest**, Q)	Q2	(O **she deceiues** me Past thought,)	A4v, 3-4	VT	While Q could be right, it seems that Q2 editor preferred F's more internalised aside. Arden 3 follows Q2, changing parenth. to dash.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.172	F	**Yes** sir: I have **indeed** (I have, sir, Q)	Q2	**Yes** sir, I haue **indeed**.	A4v, 13	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.178	F	Pray **you lead** on (Pray **lead me** on, Q)	Q2	Pray **you lead** on,	A4v, 19	Vw	Might be a suggestion of more refined speech for Brabantio in F and Q2.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.179	F	raise some speciall Officers of **might** (Q night)	Q2	raise some speciall Officers of **might**	A4v, 21	Q2=F1	VSCm: Arden 3 takes Q but there seems to be disagreement (Berger 1991)
OTH	Arden 3, 1.1.179	F	raise some speciall Officers of **might** (Q **night**)	Q2	raise some speciall Officers of **might**	A4v, 21	VSCm	Q2-F1: Arden 3 takes Q.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.2	F	**stuff o'th'** conscience (**stuft of**, Q)	Q2	**stuffe o' th** conscience	A4v, 25	VSCm	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.16-17	F	**The** law...will give him cable (**That** law, Q)	Q2	**The** law...weele giue him cable.	B1r, 3-4	Vw	Metonymic phrase of 'the law' is a more dramatic ref. to large institution than a singular law.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.21	F	I shall **promulgate** (**provulgate**, Q)	Q2	I shall **promulgate**	B1r, 9	VSFL	While Arden 3 decides that the variants mean the same thing, Q's 'provulgate' is the much rarer word and therefore 'could well be Shakespeare's' (Honigmann 128). (Latin : promulgare, provulgare) Arden 3 =F, Arden 2=Q
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.23	QF	May speak unbonneted **to as** proud a fortune	Q2	May speak unbonneted [ ] **as** proud a fourtune	B1r, 11	ADD	seems to have missed a word
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.28	Q	Yonder. (Yond? F)	Q2	Yonder?	B1r, 17	VP	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.32	QF	Shall manifest **me rightly**	Q2	Shall manifest **my right by**	B1r, 22	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.32	F	**is it** they**? (it is** they**.** , Q)	Q2	**is it** they?	B1r, 22	VSCm	Q2 favours the uncertainty of the question in F to the statement in Q, making Othello appear less strong in anticipating the confrontation with Brabantio.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.42	QF	**at one** another's heels	Q2	**one at** anothers heeles	B1r, 34	Vw	While both Ardens accept the saying 'at one another's heels', the Q2 editor seemed to put care in to reconsidering this detail. Suggesting a reference to the line of sequential messengers mentioned in the line before and so rather than fighting each other 'at one another' they are in fact, one at another's heels in their endless coming.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.50	QF	a land **Carrick** Q, **Carract** F	Q2	**Carriact**	B1v, 5	VSFL	According to Ardens 2&3 it is actually 'Carrack' (treasure ship, usually Spanish - Arden 3).
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.52	QF	To **who?**	Q2	To **whom.**	B1v, 9	VSCr	See also 4.2.101.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.53	QF	Ha, with who? Q; Haue with you. F	Q2	Ha' with you.	B1v, 13	VS	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.78	F	**For** an abuser of the world (**Such**, Q)	Q2	**For** an abuser of the world	B2r, 3	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.2.85	F	Where will you that I go / **To** answer this your charge (**And**, Q)	Q2	where will you that I goe, / **To** answere this your charge?	B2r, 10-11	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.6	QF	where **they aym'd** reports (Q); where **the ayme** reports (F)	Q2	where **they ayme** reports	B2v, 2	VSCm	Also VT.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.6	QF	where **they aym'd** reports (Q); where **the ayme** reports (F)	Q2	where **they ayme** reports	B2v, 2	VT	Also VSCm.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.26	F	**But** altogether lacks th'abilities (not in Q)	Q2	**Who** altogether lacks th'abilities	B2v, 23	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.36	F	Have there **inioynted them** with (**inioynted** with, Q)	Q2	Haue there **inioynted them** with an after fleete	B2v, 33	ADD	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.38	Q	now they do **resternine**/ Their backward course (**re-stem, F**)	Q2	now they doe **resterne** / their backward course	B2v, 35-36	Q2=Q1r	Ridley (23) notes that 'the editor of Q2 was clearly not happy with the supposition that the Q1 Compositor had produced a vox nihili out of a straightforward 're-stemme''. Arden 2&3 choose F. I like resterne- because it works contextually with the nautical imagery.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.38	Q	now they do **resternine**/ Their backward course (**re-stem, F**)	Q2	now they doe **resterne** / their backward course	B2v, 35-36	VSCm	Q2=Q1r: Ridley (23) notes that 'the editor of Q2 was clearly not happy with the supposition that the Q1 Compositor had produced a vox nihili out of a straightforward 're-stemme''. Arden 2&3 choose F. I like resterne- because it works contextually with the nautical imagery.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.45	F	Marcus Luccicos, is not **he** in town? (**here**, Q)	Q2	Marucs Luccicos is not **he** in towne?	B3r, 4	VSCm	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.56	QF	Take **any** hold of me (Q); hold **on** (F)	Q2	Take hold of me	B3r, 17	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.56	F	for my particular **grief** (**griefes**, Q)	Q2	for my particular **griefe**	B3r, 17	VSCm	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.65	F	**Sans** witchcraft could not. (**Saunce**, Q)	Q2	**Sans** witchcraft could not.	B3r, 29	VSFL	While the Q2 ed. may not know Latin, he seems able to recognise basic French.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.70	F	After **your** own sense: **yes**, though (**its** own sense, **tho** (Q))	Q2	After **its** owne sense, **yea** tho	B3r, 34	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.91	QF	I **will** a round **unvarnish'd** tale deliver (Q) & F	Q2	I **would** a round **unrauish'd** tale deliver.	B3v, 21	Vw	Nice leap to include a word that matches the vocab., but would probably be inappropriate for Othello given the context and subject matter of his speech.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.95	F	A Maiden, neuer bold: / Of Spirit so still, and quite, that her Motion / Blush'd at her selfe	Q2	A Maiden, neuer bold, / Of Spirit so still, and quite, that her Motion / Blush'd at her selfe	B3v, 26-27	MisL	Q : 'A maiden neuer bold of spirit,/ So still and quiet, that her motion/ Blusht at her selfe'. (Arden 2=Q , Arden 3 =F) Ridley observes 'Q2 adopts F's lineation but retaining Q's punctuation with the transposition of a comma'. Tthe major diff. is F and Q2 use the top of ln 94 to create a 'tolerable' line, while Q adds to 95 to make a 'normal light-running line' (Ridley, 26).
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.121 SD	Q	**Exit** two or three. (not in F)	Q2	**Exeunt** two or three.	B4r, 17	SD	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.121 SD	Q	**Exit** two or three. (not in F)	Q2	**Exeunt** two or three.	B4r, 17	VSCr	Arden places SD three lines later between 124-125.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.139	F	And sold to slavery. **Of** (slavery, **and** (Q)	Q2	And sold to slauery: **of** my redemption	B4r, 35	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.140	F	And **portance in** my **travailous** history (**with it all**, **trauells** Q)	Q2	And **portance in** my **trauells** historie	B4r, 36	VSFL	also Vw
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.140	F	And **portance in** my **travailous** history (**with it all**, **trauells** Q)	Q2	And **portance in** my **trauells** historie	B4r, 36	Vw	also VSFL
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.141	F	Wherein of **Antars** vast (**Antrees** Q)	Q2	Where in of **Antars** vast,	B4r, 37	VSFL	Suspect that the 'Antrees' were wrongly id'd as a foreign proper noun due to capitalisation in both F and Q. Arden 2 & 3 choose Q's reading from the Latin 'antrum' meaning 'cave'.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.146	QF	**This** to hear (Q) **These things** to hear (F)	Q2	**these** to hear	B4v, 4	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.149	F	**Which** ever as she could (**And**, Q)	Q2	**Which** ever as she could with hast dispatch	B4v, 7	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.158	F	speak of some **distressefull** stroke (**distressed**, Q)	Q2	speake of some **distresfull** stroake	B4v, 16	VSCm	Arden 3 opts for F quoting the OED: 'a literary and chiefly poetical word'. Honigmann adds 'Of how many other words in Othello's longer speeches could the same be said?' (145). Also the def. of distressed, is more practical as a quality than of an emotional reaction to a tale.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.184	F	you are the lord **of duty** (lord of **all my** duty, Q)	Q2	you are the Lord **of duty**	C1r, 9	ADD	In the context of this speech, the Q2 editor may have decided that for Brabantio to have 'all' Des.'s duty would contradict the point of her speech.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.234	F	I find in hardness, and **doe** undertake (**would**, Q)	Q2	I find in hardnesse, and **doe** undertake	C1v, 19	VT	This preference for the definitive rather than the conditional mirrors the 'hardness' of Othello's intention.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.235	QF	This present **warres** against the Ottomites (Q, F)	Q2	This present **warre** against the Ottomites	C1v, 20	VSCm	The kind of reading the editor might have let go if he was just spot checking and didn't know that there was a war in the present.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.238	F	Due **reference** of place (**reuerence**, Q)	Q2	Due **reference** of place	C1v, 23	VSCm	Not sure why Q2 ed. chose the F in this case. Ridley maintains the F reading, but doesn't seem to know why 'reference does not occur in any sense suitable to this context' (34). Arden 3 follows Q.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.247-48	F	**T'assist** my simpleness. / Duke: What would you **Dedsemona**? (**And if** my simpleness... Duke What would you... **speak**. (Q)	Q2	**T'assist** my simplenesse.**---** / Duke: What would you **Desdemona**?	C1v, 34-35	ADD	Arden 3 takes F and Q2 but removes '---'. Q2 retains Q's typography.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.247-48	Q	And **if** my simpleness**...** Duke What would you... speak. (Q)	Q2	**T'assist** my simplenesse.**---** / Duke: What would you Desdemona?	C1v, 34-35	VTYPO	Q2 retains Q's use of '---'. Also ADD.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.250	F	violence and **storme** of fortunes (**scorne** Q)	Q2	uiolence and **storme** of Fortunes	C1v, 37	VSCm	Arden 2 & 3 take 'scorn'.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.252	F	Even to the **very quality** of my lord (**utmost pleasure** Q)	Q2	Euen to the **very qualitie** of my lord	C2r, 1	Vw	Ridley chooses Q1 suspecting that 'very qualitie' is meant to emphasise the 'visage' of the next line (35). He sees Desdemona as outspoken 'like all Shakespeare's best women' (35). Honigmann on the contrary, follows F equalling 'quality to profession' and suggesting that 'utmost pleasure looks like a first thought, changed because it might suggest sexual pleasure' (151).
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.277	F	Either for **her** stay or going ('her' not in Q)	Q2	Eyther for **her** stay or going	C2r, 27	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.278-79	Q	And speede must answer, you must hence to night. / Des. To night my Lord? Du. This night.	Q2	And speede must answer, you must hence to night. / Des. To night my Lord? Du. This night.	C2r, 28-30	Q2=Q1	F: 'And speed must answer it. / Sen. You must away to night.' Berger notes Q2's choice not to conflate - whereas modern eds. often do (Berger 1991: 35). Berger also notes the Q2's choice to follow F's choice of 'nine' over 'ten' in Q in the very next line as 'further stressing the urgency of the Venetian cause' - it also shows a sense of continuity in editors understanding of the action in the play.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.280	F	At **nine** i' th' morning (**ten** i' the, Q)	Q2	At nine i' th morning	C2r, 31	Vw	Q2=F1: VSCm : Reading creates moment of dramatic continuity in Q2 by stressing the urgency of Des. from previous lines. (See also Berger 1991)
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.283	F	**And** such things else of quality **and** respect (**With**, **or**, Q)	Q2	**With** such things else of quality **and** respect	C2r, 34	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.284	F	As doth **import** you (**concern**, Q)	Q2	As doth **import** you	C2r, 35	Vw	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.293	F	If thou **hast eyes to** see (If thou **have a quick eye** to see, Q)	Q2	If thou **hast eyes to** see	C2v, 8	Vw	This is a more literary/poetic sounding reading. Accepted by Arden 3 but not by Arden 2 as Ridley describes the finish of this line 'is slightly more colloquial' (39).
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.294	F	She has deceived her father, and **may** thee. (may **do** thee, Q)	Q2	She has deceived her father, and **may** thee	C2v, 9	ADD	No one has any reason for choosing except their choice to follow copytext.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.342-44	F	It cannot be that Desdemona should long continue her love to the Moor - put money in thy purse-nor he **his to her**. (**he to her,** Q)	Q2	It cannot be, that Desdemona should long continue her love vnto the Moore, - put money in thy purse,-nor he **his to her**	C3r, 13	ADD	The kind of reading that might come from the close literary scrutiny of conflation.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.350	F	Coloquintida. **She must change for youth**: when (Coloquintida. **[ ]**when Q)	Q2	Coloquintida. **She must change for youth**: when	C3r, 17	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.350	F	**bitter** as Coloquintida. (**acerb**, Q)	Q2	**bitter** as Coloquintida	C3r, 17	Vw	Rareness of 'acerb', doesn't appear in OED until 1657, suggests authorial origin as unlikely any other agent would choose the rarer word over the commonplace (Ridley, 42).
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.368	F	**I**et us be **coniunctiue** in our revenge against him (**communicative** Q)	Q2	let us be **coniunctiue** in our reuenge against him	C3r, 30	Vw	What was perhaps an error of minims, Q's reading occurs no where else in Sh. whereas 'conjunctive' appears in Hamlet 4.7.14.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.370	F	thyself a pleasure, **me** a sport (**and** me, Q)	Q2	thy selfe a pleasure, **me** a sport	C3r, 31-32	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.378	QF	R. What say you? / Iago. no more of drowning, do you hear? / R. I am chang'd. / **Iago. Go to; farewell. put money enough in your purse** (Rod. **Ile sell all my Land**, F)	Q2	R. What say you? / Iago. No more of drowning, doe you heare? / R. I am chang'd, **Ile goe sell all my land** /	C3v, 3-5	ADD	Q2 drops Iago's last command to Rod. in Q and adds F's unique line.
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.380	F	Ile sell all my Land. (not in Q)	Q2	Ile goe sell all my land.	C3v, 5	ADD	Q2=F1r - adds 'goe'

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.380	F	Ile sell all my Land. (not in Q)	Q2	Ile goe sell all my land.	C3v, 5	Q2=F1r	ADD, Q2=F1r - adds 'goe' (Berger 1991)
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.392	F	to **plume** up my will (make, Q)	Q2	to **plume** up my will	C3v, 17	Vw	The idea of 'plume' as in 'feathers' is sceptically referred to in Honigmann (160).
OTH	Arden 3, 1.3.398	F	The Moore is **of** a free and open nature [ ] (a [ ] free, nature **too**, Q)	Q2	The Moore is **of** a free and open nature **[ ]**	C3v, 23	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.00 SD	Q	Gouernor of **Cypres** (not in F)	Q2	Gouernor of **Cyprus**	C3v, 29	SD	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.00 SD	Q	Gouernor of **Cypres** (not in F)	Q2	Gouernor of **Cyprus**	C3v, 29	VSNC	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.11	F	For do but stand upon the **Foaming** shore (**banning** Q)	Q2	For doe but stand vpon the **foaming** shore.	C4r, 7	Vw	Q's 'banning' is considered the 'harder' reading by Honigmann (162). Ridley suggests that it reflects the forbidding nature of the shore.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.12	QF	The chiding **billow** seems to pelt the clouds.	Q2	The chiding **billowes** seemes to pelt the cloudes.	C4r, 8	VSCm	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.20	F	News Laddes: **our** wars are done. (Lords, your Q)	Q2	News Lads: **your** warres are done:	C4r, 18	VSCm	Separates the 3 gentleman speaking the line from the other gentlemen and the governor. The status of the speakers is confused by this change which suggests a nonexistent hierarchy.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.22	F	A **Noble** ship of Venice (**Another**, Q)	Q2	A **Noble** shippe of Venice,	C4r, 21	VSCm	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.24	F	On most part of **their** fleet (**the**, Q)	Q2	On most part of **their** Fleete	C4r, 23	VSCm	"Their fleet" creates what would seem to be the desired separation between the Venetian ship that has been 'a grieuous wracke and sufferance' and their (the opponent's) fleet. Q's 'the' could be confusing for a reader trying to determine who has suffered.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.43	QF	Thanks to the valiant of this **worthy** isle (Q) this **warlike** isle (F)	Q2	Thanks to the valiant of this [ ] Isle	C4r, 8	ADD	Ridley suggests that 'worthy' may have been too repetitive after line 30. As the Q2 line stands it is a correct iambic hexameter.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.55	Q	My hopes do shape him for the **guernement** (Q) **governor** (F)	Q2	My hopes doe shape him for the **gouernement**.	C4r, 21	VSCm	Q2's choice here suggests tendency for metonymical language.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.63	F	excells the **quirks of** blazoning pens (bold not in Q)	Q2	excells the **quirkes of** blasoning pens	C4r, 30	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.65	Q	Does **bear all excellency**. (**tyre the Ingeniuer,** F)	Q2	Does beare **an** excellency:	C4r, 32	ADD	Ridley keeps to Q, but feels that 'this is one of the (I think very few) places where the F variant more probably than not is Shakespeare's own' (51). F reading is more sophisticated.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.68	F	**high** Seas, and **howling** windes (**by**, Q)	Q2	**high** seas, and **houling** winds	C4v, 36	Vw	Q's 'by' disrupts the string of noun/adj. pairs in these lines: high seas, and houling winds, / The guttered rockes, and congregated sands' (36-37). Suggests a penchant to poetic readings over pedestrian. (see also 2.1.175)
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.70	F	Traitors **ensteep'd** (Traitors **enscerped**, Q)	Q2	Traitors **ensteep'd**	C4v, 38	Q2=F1	VSCm: Q2=F1: First half of conflation of line that takes half from F and the end from Q.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.70	F	Traitors **ensteep'd** (Traitors **enscerped**, Q)	Q2	Traitors **ensteep'd**	C4v, 38	VSCm	Q2=F1: First half of conflation of line that takes half from F and the end from Q.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.70	Q	to **clog** the guiltlesse Keele (enclogge, F)	Q2	to **clog** the guiltlesse Keele	C4v, 38	Q2=Q1	VSCm: 2nd half of line of joint conflation.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.70	Q	to **clog** the guiltlesse Keele (enclogge, F)	Q2	to **clog** the guiltlesse Keele	C4v, 38	VSCm	Q2=Q1: VSCm: 2nd half of line of joint conflation.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.74	F	She that I **spake** of (**Spoke** Q)	Q2	She that I **spake** of	D1r, 5	VT	Cassio's line: a more colloquial sounding verb?
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.83	F	the ship is come **on shore** (**ashore**, Q)	Q2	the ship is come **on shore**	D1r, 16	VS	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.84	Q	**Ye** men of Cyprus (**You**, F)	Q2	**Ye** men of Cyprus, let her haue your knees	D1r, 17	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.95	F	See for the newes. (**So speaks this voice**, Q)	Q2	See for the newes:	D1r, 31	ADD	Interesting here that Q2 did not conflate these two lines which each have a logical purpose (see Ridley, 53). However in context, it looks like Cassio's agreement is a bit random. However F's addition provides a link/direction to the action (with no identifying SD in F or Q2). It is however a logical jump to see him ordering the 2 gent. who just spoke.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.100	F	**Sir**, would she give you so much of her lips (**For**, Q)	Q2	**Sir**, would she giue you so much of her lips,	D1r, 36	VSCr	Similar interest in use of 'sir' to F2 of TS?

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.113	F	*Des*. (not in Q)	Q2	*Des*.O fie vpon thee slanderer.	D1v, 13	SP	Q2 notices missed SP.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.130	F	The one's for use, the other **useth** it. (**using**, Q)	Q2	The one's for use, the other **useth** it.	D1v, 32	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.168-69	F	**With as** little a web as this, **will I** ensnare (Q **As** little a web as this **will** ensnare)	Q2	**with as** little a webbe as this, **will I** ensnare as great a Flie as Cassio	D2r, 30-31	ADD	Specifies the act as personal with Iago rather than general.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.169-70	QF	I will **catch** you in your own **courtesies** Q (F: I will **giue** thee in thine owne **Courtship**)	Q2	I will **catch** you in your own **courtship**	D2r, 32	Vw	Q2 uses 'catch' from Q and 'courtship' from F. Reading of 'courtship' suggests Cassio as having illicit intentions- not sure that's right. Ridley notes Cassio's use of 'courtesy' in 'bold show of courtesy' which Iago alludes to later in this same speech.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.174-75	F	**Very good**, well kissed, and excellent courtesy (**good**, Q)	Q2	**very good**, well kist, and excellent courtesie	D2r, 35-36	ADD	Again creates the rhetorical balance of adj./noun pairs seen at 2.1.65.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.201	QF	News, friends, our wars are done, the Turks are **drowned**.	Q2	Newes friend, our wars are done, the Turks are **dro[ ]**	D2v, 30	VP	Without the emphasis of hearing this line spoken, the Q2 ed. was perhaps confused by this awkward sounding list and so adjusted the comma and plural of friend to make the first two words an address to Cassio. This seems to preface his question 'How does my old acquaintance of this Isle?' In this way, we see an example of reading this text for sense and an attempt to make the Q2 read clearly (not expecting the reader to recreate vocal performance in their head).
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.211-12 SD	QF	**Exit** (Q) Exit Othello and Desdemona (F)	Q2	**Exeunt**.	D3r, 2	SD	Perhaps recognising that not only Oth. and Des. must exit here, Q2 opted for a general exit. (refined)
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.211-12 SD	QF	**Exit** (Q) Exit Othello and Desdemona (F)	Q2	**Exeunt**.	D3r, 2	VSCr	Perhaps recognising that not only Oth. and Des. must exit here, Q2 opted for a general exit. (refined)
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.224-26	QF	When the blood is made dull with the act of sport, there should be **a game** to inflame it (**again Q)**	Q2	When the blood is made dull with the act of sport, there should be **a game** to inflame it	D3r, 13-15	VSCm	While Ridley argues for the relation of 'game' with Iago's approach, both Ardens choose 'again'.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.226-27	Q	love lines (loveliness F)	Q2	lovelines	D3r, 15	VSCm	Not sure why opted for 'lovelines' here but is an example of whole phrase editing.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.238-39	Q2	**most hidden loose affections [ ]**	F2	**most hidden loose Affection**? Why none, why none (F)	D3r, 24-25	ADD	Uses F to embellish Q, but leaves out the emotional interjection of Iago towards the end of this nearly page long speech. Not the result of space saving as there is plenty of room on the last line of speech. F2 follows F.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.238-39	QF	hidden affections (Q) **most hidden loose Affection**? Why none, why none (F)	Q2	**most hidden loose affections [ ]**	D3r, 24-25	ADD	Uses F to embellish Q, but leaves out the emotional interjection of Iago towards the end of this nearly page long speech. Not the result of space saving as there is plenty of room on the last line of speech.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.241-42	Q2	advantage never present **it selfe**. Besides	F2	**itself**. **A divelish knave**	D3r, 27	ADD	Q2 removes the emotional outbursts (see D3r, 24-25). F2: Follows F1 in keeping extra line.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.241-42	QF	never present **themselves**. (Q) **itself**. **A divelish knave** (F)	Q2	advantage never present **it selfe**. Besides	D3r, 27	ADD	Again in the same speech Q2 removes the emotional outbursts (see D3r, 24-25).
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.252	F	hand? **Didst not marke that?** (not in Q)	Q2	hand? **Didst not marke that?**	D3r, 35-36	ADD	In this case Q2 includes the extra outburst skipped at D3r, 24-25 and 27.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.255	F	an index and **obscure** prologue (and prologue Q)	Q2	an Index and **obscure** prologue	D3r, 38	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.258-59	F	together. **Villanous thoughts Rodorigo**, when (F) (Q= together. when)	Q2	together, **villanous thoughts**, when	D3v, 2	ADD	Q2 keeps the descriptive, but removes the interjection 'Rodorigo' only to reinsert it shortly after.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.260	QF	**hard** at hand comes the master (QF)	Q2	**hand** at hand comes **Roderigo**	D3v, 3	ADD	After rejecting the 'Rodorigo' in the above line (2.1.258-59) Q2 chooses to insert it here which may be a misplaced emendation. Iago describing the scene to Roderigo with himself in it?
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.266-67	F	from what other **course** you please (**cause** Q)	Q2	from what other **course** you please	D3v, 9	VSCm	Seems to follow the more familiar saying 'course of action' v. 'cause of action' though both Ardens follow Q w/no explanation.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.274	F	whose qualification shall come into no true **taste** again (trust Q)	Q2	whose qualification shall come into no true **taste** again't	D3v, 15	VSCm	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.301	F	If this poore Trash of Venice, whome I **trace** (crush Q)	Q2	If this poore trash of Venice, who I **trace**	D4r, 2	Q2=F1	Vw: Q2=F1. Modern editions (including Arden 3) use 'trash' instead of 'trace'. I think an argument could be made of 'trace' following Berger 1991: 35. In that case, this could be an instance of making an emendation to help modern readers because both Q and F readings are obscure. Manuscript?

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 2.1.301	F	If this poore Trash of Venice, whome I **trace** (crush Q)	Q2	If this poore trash of Venice, who I **trace**	D4r, 2	Vw	Q2=F1. Modern editions (including Arden 3) use 'trash' instead of 'trace'. I think an argument could be made of 'trace' following Berger 1991: 35. In that case, this could be an instance of making an emendation to help modern readers because both Q and F readings are obscure. Manuscript?
OTH	Arden 3, 2.2.00 SD	QF	Enter a **Gentleman** reading a Proclamation. (Othello's, Herald **with a**, F)	Q2	Enter **Othello's Herald**, **reading** a Proclamation.	D4r, 12	ADD	A conflation of the action of Q SD, and the specificity (literary?) of F. (also ADD) **F2**: Follows F1 SD.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.2.00 SD	QF	Enter a **Gentleman** reading a Proclamation. (Othello's, Herald **with a**, F)	Q2	Enter **Othello's Herald**, **reading** a Proclamation.	D4r, 12	SD	A conflation of the action of Q SD, and the specificity (literary?) of F. For this reason perhaps Q2 editor doesn't bother with a SP for the Herald as in F.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.2.6	F	his addition leads him (his minde leads him, Q)	Q2	his addiction leads him	D4r, 17	Q2=F1r	VSCm
OTH	Arden 3, 2.2.6	F	his addition leads him (his minde leads him, Q)	Q2	his addiction leads him	D4r, 17	VSCm	Q2=F1r
OTH	Arden 3, 2.2.115	F	**Very** well then, you must not think that I am drunk (**Why** very well then...think **then** F)	Q2	**Why** very well then : you must not thinke **then**, that I am drunke.	E1v, 15-16	ADD	Addition of 'then' here from F creates more repetition as part of the already repeated instances in Cassio's drunkenness. (Q2 uses the emphasis of 'why' and adds to the character base in Q).
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.2	F	**that** honourable stop (**the** Q)	Q2	Lets teach our selves **that** honourable stop	D4r, 25	Vw	One of two close instances of Q2 taking F's use of 'that' over Q's use of 'the' (2.3.10).
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.4	F	Iago hath **direction** what to do (**directed**, Q)	Q2	Iago hath **direction** what to doe	D4r, 27	VSCm	Two things come to mind here: Q2's preference for 'ion' in use of metonymy. Also 'directed' makes it sound like the watch has already happened (he's already supervised it) which is not so.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.10	F	**That** profit's yet to come '**tween** me and you. (**The**, Q)	Q2	**That** profits yet to come twixt me and you	D4r, 34	Vw	With 2.3.2, a second instance in just a few lines of choosing F's 'that' over Q's use of 'the'.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.61	Q	Fore **god**, they have given me (**Heaven**, F)	Q2	Fore **God** they have given me	E1r, 10	VBla	Q2 editor misses a VBla.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.71	F	Fore **Heaven** an excellent song. (**God**, Q)	Q2	Fore **heaven** an excellent song**.**	E1r, 18	VBla	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.76	F	Is your Englishman so **exquisite** in his drinking? (**expert**, Q)	Q2	Is your Englishman so **exquisite** in his drinking?	E1r, 22	Vw	While this is also the more lively reading, 'exquisite' is repeated by the drunk Cassio in another exclamation a couple of lines later 2.3.95. This plays nicely with his character's repetition.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.95	F	**Why**, this is a more exquisite song than the other. ('**Fore God**, Q)	Q2	**Why**, this is a more **exquisite** song than the other.	E1r, 37	VBla	Exchange of Why for 'fore God'.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.98	F	Well **heau'ns** above all (**God's** Q)	Q2	well, **heau'ns** above all	E1v, 2	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.153 SD	QF	----	Q2	Exit Rod.	E2r, 16	ADD	Arden 3 accepts Q2.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.153 SD	QF	----	Q2	Exit Rod.	E2r, 16	SD	Arden 3 accepts Q2.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.154	Q	**God's will**, gentlemen (Alas F)	Q2	**God's-will** Gentlemen,	E2r, 17	VBla	Q2 does not fix this VBla with F, but will follow only a few lines later at line 21 with 'Fie, Fie'- did he get distracted by adding in the SD for 'A bell rings' which was not in F?
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.156 SD	Q	A bell **rung**. (not in F)	Q2	A bell **rings**.	E2r, 21	SD	See note for E2r, 17- change of tense in this SD is another example of the Q2 ed. emending for the reader experience - putting it in the present moment of reading. In comparison, we can hear 'bell rung' as a third person recording of the stage direction in performance.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.156 SD	Q	A bell **rung**. (not in F)	Q2	A bell **rings**.	E2r, 21	VT	See note for E2r, 17- change of tense in this SD is another example of the Q2 ed. emending for the reader experience - putting it in the present moment of reading. In comparison, we can hear 'bell rung' as a third person recording of the stage direction in performance.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.158	F	**Fie, Fie**, lieutenant (God's will Q)	Q2	**Fie, fie,** Leiutenant (sic)	E2r, 23	VBla	see also 2.3.154: within the same speech the Q2 editor misses one VBla but fixes another according to F. Distracted by SD for the bell?
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.161	F	He **dies**. (not in Q)	Q2	he **faints**. (SD)	E2r, 25	Q2=F1r	Vw Q2 editor chooses F use of SD but refines it.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.161	F	He **dies**. (not in Q)	Q2	he **faints**. (SD)	E2r, 25	VTYPO	Q2=F1r. Q2 converts to a SD with italic and moved it to right margin on same line.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.161	F	He **dies**. (not in Q)	Q2	he **faints**. (SD)	E2r, 25	Vw	Q2=F1r

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.169	F	He that stirs next, to carve **for** his own rage (**forth** Q)	Q2	He that stirres next, to carue **for** his owne rage	E2r, 36	VSCr	Q2 seems to reject the refining that happens in other instances.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.203	QF	Zounds if **I once** stir (Q) If I once stir (F)	Q2	If **once I** stirre	E2v, 34	ADD	Also VBla- but puts his own spin.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.203	QF	Zounds if **I once** stir (Q) If I once stir (F)	Q2	If **once I** stirre	E2v, 34	VBla	Also ADD.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.217	Q	this tongue **cut from** my mouth (Q) (**out** from, F)	Q2	this tongue **out of** my mouth	E3r, 11	Vw	A variation of Q also example of Q2's preference for 'of' over 'from'.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.231-32	F	which till tonight I ne'er might **say** before (**see**, Q)	Q2	which till to night I ne'er might **say** before	E3r, 25-26	Vw	F and Q2 are preferred by Arden 3 as they reflect the fact that Iago is delivering the news and speaking. (Would this seem to happen more naturally in a visual delivery and reception of performance?)
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.244-45; 254-55	Q2	Enter Desdemona, with others. Exit Moore, Desdemona, and attendants.	F2	Enter Desdemona, attended. Exit.	E3v, 4, 15	ADD	F2 follows F1 SD rather than Q2 which originated in Q. Spacing is slightly different- Des. entering after 245 rather than before as in the quartos.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.244-45; 254-55	Q2	Enter Desdemona, with others. Exit Moore, Desdemona, and attendants.	F2	Enter Desdemona, attended. Exit.	E3v, 4, 15; F2 ISE image 829	SD	F2 follows F1 SD rather than Q2 which originated in Q. Spacing is slightly different- Des. entering after 245 rather than before as in the quartos.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.258	Q	Reputation reputation I ha' lost my reputation. (reputation 3xs and '**oh** I **haue'** (F)	Q2	Reputation reputation, **oh** I **ha** lost my reputation	E3v, 18	VSCr	Q2 here follows Q rejecting the refinement of 'have' in F. (Also Vw)
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.258	Q	Reputation reputation I ha' lost my reputation. (reputation 3xs and '**oh** I **haue'** (F)	Q2	Reputation reputation, **oh** I ha lost my reputation	E3v, 18	Vw	Accepts the 'oh' in place of a third 'reputation' in a row. Q2 likes the emotion of F but with more variety- again more reader? 3 reps in immediate succession may not be too much if spoken, but to read it may have seemed ineffective or over done for a reader. Also VSCr: Q2 here follows Q rejecting the refined of have in F.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.308-09	QF	any man living may be drunk **at some time** (Q) (a time man (F)	Q2	You, or any man liuing may be drunk at **some time man**	E4v, 24	ADD	Addition of 'man'.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.312	QF	**devotement** of her parts...	Q2	**denotement** of her parts...	E4v,27	VSCm	Arden 3 accepts Q2 perhaps because there is a 'devoted' in the same sentence. Though this suggests the source of corruption may be more than an upturned letter.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.314	Q	importune her [ ] she'll help (her help F)	Q2	importune her**,** shee'll helpe	E4v, 28-29	VP	Realises that F's 'her' shows a misunderstanding of the two phrases.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.317-18	F	This broken **joint** between you and her husband (**braule**, Q)	Q2	This broken **ioynt** betweene you and her husband	E4r, 31-32	Vw	More poetic (and accurate?), since 'braule' sounds more like a physical encounter which Othello and Cassio have not had. Could also be Iago exaggerating in order to upset the unnerved Cassio.
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.348	QF	For **whiles** this honest fool (F) **while** (Q)	Q2	for **whilst** this honest foole	D4v, 22	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.357	F	That shall enmesh them all ('em Q)	Q2	That shall enmesh them all	D4v, 31	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.365	F	How poore are they, they haue not Patience? (ha', Q)	Q2	How poore are they, they **haue** not Patience?	D4v, 38	VSCr	Expands verb from Q. Is it odd that Iago not Cassio speaks more gentile?
OTH	Arden 3, 2.3.372	F	**Yet** Fruits that blossom first will first be ripe (**But** Q)	Q2	**Yet** Fruites that blosome first will first be ripe	F1r, 7	Vw	Ridley, 88-89.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.00 SD	Q2	Enter Cassio, with Musitians.	F2	Enter Cassio, with Muitians (and Clowne, F)	F1r, 20 (Q2) (F2 ISE image 830)	SD	Q2 follows Q's sense that the Clowne is not included in the initial action and must not enter with Cassio and the musicians. Happily, Q2 editor goes further in his reading and noticing that the Q has no entrance at all for the Clown writes in one at 3.1.23. F2 follows F1 at this unique moment in Q2.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.00 SD	Q	Enter Cassio, with Muitians (and Clowne, F)	Q2	Enter Cassio, with Musitians.	F1r, 20 (Q2)	ADD	Q2 follows Q's sense that the Clowne is not included in the initial action and must not enter with Cassio and the musicians. Happily, Q2 editor goes further in his reading and noticing that the Q has no entrance at all for the Clown writes in one at 3.1.23.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.00 SD	Q	Enter Cassio, with Muitians (and Clowne, F)	Q2	Enter Cassio, with Musitians.	F1r, 20 (Q2)	SD	Q2 follows Q's sense that the Clowne is not included in the initial action and must not enter with Cassio and the musicians. Happily, Q2 editor goes further in his reading and noticing that the Q has no entrance at all for the Clown writes in one at 3.1.23.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.2-3 SD	Q2	They play, and enter the Clowne.	F2	not in Q or F or F2	F1r, 23 (Q2) (F2 ISE image 830)	SD	The second part of Q2 editor's decision to not follow F's inclusion of the Clown in the group entrance. He felt it required a separate entrance for the clown. His choice gives the character of the clowne a nice dramatic moment of his own entrance where he listens to the music and then comments/interrupts.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.2-3 SD	QF	not in Q or F	Q2	They play, and enter the Clowne.	F1r, 23	ADD	The second part of Q2 editor's decision to not follow F's inclusion of the Clown in the group entrance SD he felt it required a separate entrance for the clown. His choice gives the character of the clowne a nice dramatic moment of his own entrance where he listens to the music and then comments/interrupts.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.2-3 SD	QF	not in Q or F	Q2	They play, and enter the Clowne.	F1r, 23	SD	The second part of Q2 editor's decision to not follow F's inclusion of the Clown in the group entrance. He felt it required a separate entrance for the clown. His choice gives the character of the clowne a nice dramatic moment of his own entrance where he listens to the music and then comments/interrupts.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.12	F	he desires you, **for love's sake** (**of all loves,** F)	Q2	hee desires you **for loues sake**, to make no more noyse with it	F1r, 33	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.18	Q	1 mus. We **ha**' none such sir. (**haue**, F)	Q2	Boy. We **ha** none such sir.	F1v, 5	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.19-3.2.1 SD	QF	----	Q2	They play, and Enter the Clowne.	F1r, 23	ADD	Arden 3 accepts Q2.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.19-3.2.1 SD	QF	----	Q2	They play, and Enter the Clowne.	F1r, 23	SD	Arden 3 accepts Q2.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.30 SD	Q2	Cas. Doe my good friend: In happy time Iago. Exit Clo. (iago enters line earlier in side SD)	F2	Exit Clowne. Enter Iago (after ln 29 in F)	F1v, 16 (Q2) (F2 ISE image 830)	SD	In F, Clowne exits immediately after his last line: 'She is stirring sir..'. This is also as Iago enters. Q2 places this exit after Cassio's first line with Iago- giving the first half of Cassio's line towards the Clown and then having him turn his attention to Iago. This gives the clown a chance to exit after a dismissal by one of higher stature. Q2 editor shows great care in the editing of SDs in this scene and demonstrates a sense of dramatic timing, for example: when it feels right for a character like the clown to enter and exit.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.30 SD	F	Exit Clowne (after ln 29 in F) (not in Q)	Q2	Cas. Doe my good friend: In happy time Iago. Exit Clo.	F1v, 16	ADD	In F, Clowne exits immediately after his last line: 'She is stirring sir..'. This is also as Iago enters. Q2 places this exit after Cassio's first line with Iago- giving the first half of Cassio's line towards the Clown and then having him turn his attention to Iago. This gives the clown a chance to exit after a dismissal by one of higher stature. Q2 editor shows great care in the editing of SDs in this scene and demonstrates a sense of dramatic timing, for example: when it feels right for a character like the clown to enter and exit.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.30 SD	F	Exit Clowne (after ln 29 in F) (not in Q)	Q2	Cas. Doe my good friend: In happy time Iago. Exit Clo.	F1v, 16	SD	In F, Clowne exits immediately after his last line: 'She is stirring sir..'. This is also as Iago enters. Q2 places this exit after Cassio's first line with Iago- giving the first half of Cassio's line towards the Clown and then having him turn his attention to Iago. This gives the clown a chance to exit after a dismissal by one of higher stature. Q2 editor shows great care in the editing of SDs in this scene and demonstrates a sense of dramatic timing, for example: when it feels right for a character like the clown to enter and exit.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.31	Q	Iago. You ha' not **been** a-bed then? (haue, F)	Q2	Iag. You ha not **bin** a bed then.	F1v, 17	VSCr	In addition to the preference for 'ha' over 'haue', the spelling of Iago's line here makes him seem a bit low class. For example, the 'bin' which could also be from Q. Is this a consistent presentation of his character and of Iago v. Othello?
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.33	F	Cas. I humbly thank you **for't** (**for it**, Q)	Q2	Cas. I humbly thanke you **for't**	F1v, 26	VSCr	Q2 rejects the refinement.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.52	F	Well wait upon your lordship (We, Q)	F2	We'll wait upon your lordship		F2=F1r	F2=F1r
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.52	F	**Well** wait upon your lordship (We, Q)	F2	**We'll** wait upon your lordship		VP	F2=F1r
OTH	Arden 3, 3.1.52	Q	**We** (Well wait upon your lordship, F)	Q2	**We** waite upon your Lordship	F2r, 16	Q2=Q1	F2 follows F, correcting punctuation, but Q2 follows Q. Suggests that F2 comes from F. Greg's notes are inconclusive: suggest that F2 has same description as Q2.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.2.54	F	**To** suffer with him (**I** suffer, Q)	Q2	Des...That he has left part of his griefes with me, **to** suffer with him	F3r, 2-3	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.14	F	**That** policy may either last so long (**The**)	Q2	**That** pollicy may either last so long	F2r, 33	VSCm	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.55	F	**Desdemon** (Desdemona, Q)	Q2	Ot. Not now sweet **Desdemon**, some other time.	F3r, 5	VSNC	Here it might be argued that Q2's choice of what appears to be a misspelling in any other printing, might be reread in terms of the Q2 editor's general care in details so that in the context of this line, he may have chosen this version as a kind of nickname as part of the affection Othello demonstrates in calling her 'sweet' in the same line.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.70	F	that I should deny or stand so **mamm'ring** on? (**muttering**, Q)	Q2	What you could ask me that I should deny? / Or stand so **mam'ring** on?	F3r, 22-23	VSCm	Ridley pts. out 'mammering' OED v. means 'hesitating' which is exactly what Othello is doing and what Des. is accusing him of.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.74	F	Trust me I could do much (Byrlady, Q)	Q2	Trust me, I could doe much	F3r,27	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.82	F	It shall be full of poise and **difficult weight** (difficulty, Q)	Q2	It shall be full of poise and **difficult weight**	F3r, 36	Vw	Q2 follows F. Change retains the same amt of syllables as original Q reading.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.89-90 SD	QF	**Exit** Desd. and Em. (Q) (Exit F)	Q2	**Exeunt** Des. and Em.	F3v, 6	VSCr	Q2 chooses 'Exeunt' and also this SD, while sharing a line, is very neat w/all the appropriate full stops.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.89-90 SD	QF	**Exit** Desd. and Em. (Q) (Exit F)	Q2	**Exeunt** Des. and Em.	F3v, 6	SD	Q2 chooses 'Exeunt' and also this SD, while sharing a line, is very neat w/all the appropriate full stops.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.100	F	O yes, and went between us very **oft**. (**often** Q)	Q2	Oth. O yes and went between vs very **oft**.	F3v, 19	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.109	QF	**By heaven he ecchoes** me (Q) (**Alas, thou ecchos't** me F)	Q2	**why dost thou ecchoe** me,	F3v, 27	ADD	Although Q2 is not accepted by modern editions, the variant uniquely turns these lines into a more intimate confrontation between Othello and Iago instead of the internal questioning of Q and F. Is not the choice of modern eds. or Q or F, but it does show some thought, the editor perhaps knowing this was an intense moment of interaction between the two characters (see Berger 1991: 37 for discussion of 5.1.104-08).
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.110	F	As if there were some monster in **thy** thought (**his**, Q)	Q2	As if there were some monster in **thy** thought	F3v, 27	Vw	See also 3.3.109 for Berger's thoughts on the approach to this intense speech. Q2 editor decides between Othello addressing Iago or an aside type moment of introspection.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.111	F	Thou **dost** mean something (**didst**, Q)	Q2	Thou **dost** meane something	F3v, 28	VT	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.118	F	some horrible **conceit** (**counsell**, Q)	Q2	As if thou then hadst shut vp in thy braine, some horrible **conceit**	F3v, 35	Vw	Mod eds. choose F which supports Q2. Shakespeare has a couple of uses of this word in context: MV, 3.4.2; R3 3.4.49.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.122	F	And **weigh'st** thy words before thou **giu'st** them breath (**weightest**, **give'em**, Q)	Q2	And **weighest** thy words, before thou **giu'st'em** breath	F4r, 3	VSCr	Q2 conflates to give 'st' consistently in both parts of line and creates a combo of both contractions in 'giv'st'em'. Is this to shorten syllables? Gives Othello a line that is going to look very low language.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.126	F	They're close **dilations** (**denotements**, Q)	Q2	They are close **dilations**	F4r, 7	Vw	Arden 3 accepts Q2, F. Ridley Q: 'indications of something shut up and secret' (99). Ref. also in R3 1.1.157, 1H4 2.3.114.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.135-36	F	thy worst of **thougts**/ The worst of words. (the...thought...word, Q)	Q2	**thy** worst of **thoughts**, / The worst of **words**	F4r, 18-19	VSCm	Q2 chooses the multiple thoughts and words.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.192	QF	For she had eyes and chose **me**.	Q2	For she had eies, and **chosen** me	G1r, 4	VT	Suggests a compositor error or misreading.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.205	F	In Venice they do let **Heaven** see the pranks (**God**, Q)	Q2	In Venice they doe let **Heauen** see the prankes	G1r, 17	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.207	QF	Is not to **leaue't** undone, but kept **unknown**. (**leaue**, **keepe**, Q)	Q2	Is not to **leaue't** vndone, but **keepe't** vnknowne.	G1r, 19	ADD	Q2 creates rhetorical balance by adding a second 't' in the same line. Not used in Q or F.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.219	F	**Trust me** I fear it has (**I'faith**, Q)	Q2	Iag. **Trust me**, I feare it has.	G1r, 34	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.227	F	Cassio's my **worthy** friend (**trusty**, Q)	Q2	Cassio's my **worthy** friend	G1v, 5	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.236	QF	**Fie we** may smell in such a will most rank (**Foh, one**, F)	Q2	**Pie we** may smell in such a will most ranke,	G1v, 15	VSCm	Perhaps because Q has no comma between 'fie' and 'we', someone quickly checking lines saw only the 'we may smell' and (not consulting F) thought they were correcting it with 'pie'. Does not show the same kind of reading done by Q2 editor elsewhere, perhaps introduced by a compositor who was not reading the text.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.250	QF	**Though** it be fit (Although 'tis fit, F)	Q2	And **though** tis fit	G1v, 30	ADD	Seems like a bit of personal preference here. The choice of 'And' as opposed to 'Although' has some impact on the meaning. Also the preference for 'tis' over 'it be' suggests belief that the line sounded uncharacteristic of Iago. (Also VSCr).

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.250	QF	**Though** it be fit (Although 'tis fit, F)	Q2	And **though** tis fit	G1v, 30	VSCr	Seems like a bit of personal preference here. The choice of 'And' as opposed to 'Although' has some impact on the meaning. Also the preference for 'tis' over 'it be' suggests belief that the line sounded uncharacteristic of Iago. (Also ADD).
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.252	QF	Yet if you please to **hold** him off awhile (Q) please to [ ]him off a while (F)	F2	please to **put** him **off** a-while		Vw	F2 realising that the F was missing a word, seems to have inserted 'off' having no access to Q or choosing a slightly diff. meaning.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.263-64	F	And knows all **quantities**, with a learned spirit, of human dealings (**qualities, dealing** Q)	Q2	And knowes all **quantities**, with a learned spirit / Of humane **dealings**	G2r, 5-6	VSCm	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.289-91	F	Why that's with watcing, 'twill away again/ Let me but bind it hard, within this hour / It will be well. (**Faith, your head**, **well again**, Q)	Q2	**Why** that's with watching, t'will away againe; / Le me but bind **it hard,** within this houre/ It will be **well**.	G2r, 33-35	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.300	Q	I'll **ha** the work ta'en out (**have** F)		Ile **ha** the worke tane out	G2v, 7	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.303	F	I nothing, **but to please** his fantasy (**nothing know, but for, Q)**	Q2	I **nothing, but to please** his fantasie.	G2v, 10	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.308	F	To have a foolish **wife**. (**thing**, Q)	Q2	To haue a foolish **wife**.	G2v, 15	Vw	Arden 2 & 3 follow F.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.320	QF	**If it** be not for some purpose	Q2	**If't** be not for some purpose	G2v, 30	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.322	QF	Be not **you** known on't (Q) not acknowne on't (F)	Q2	Be not **you** acknowne on't	G2v, 33	ADD	Instances like these appear to be attempts to include qualities of both texts when one or the other would probably do. Interest in capturing full text of the play.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.355	Q	**the** ear-piercing fife (th' , F)	Q2	**the** eare-peircing Fife	G3r, 29	VSCr	Keeps the parallel phrases the same (rhetorical balance) in this list, 'The shrill Trumpe, / The spirit-stirring Drumme, the eare-peircing Fife, / the royall Banner'.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.364	QF	Or by the worth of **man's** eternal soul. (mine F)	Q2	Or by the worth of **my** eternall soule	G3r, 38	VSCr	I have no problem with the more personal nature of the Q2 choice which is maybe a modernisation of F (same change as 3.3.378).

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.378	QF	God buy you, take **mine** office	Q2	God buy you take **my** office	G3v, 15	VSCr	Same change as 3.364 (there is also a VBla here that no one changes).
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.389	F	**my** name that was as fresh (not in Q)	Q2	**her** name that was as fresh	G3v, 27	Vw	Arden 3 follows Q2.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.389-90	F	Ile haue some proofe. **My** name that was as fresh/ As Dians Visage (not in Q)	Q2	Ile haue some proofe: **her** name that was as fresh / As Dians visage	G3v, 386	Q2=F1r	Vw: Q2 corrects the line which is obviously referring to Desdemona not Othello referring to himself. (Also mentioned in Berger 1991).
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.389-90	F	Ile haue some proofe. **My** name that was as fresh/ As Dians Visage (not in Q)	Q2	Ile haue some proofe: **her** name that was as fresh / As Dians visage	G3v, 386	Vw	Q2=F1r: Q2 corrects the line which is obviously referring to Desdemona not Othello referring to himself. (Also mentioned in Berger 1991).
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.431	F	Tis a shrewd doubt (Iago. 'Tis)	Q2	**Oth**.....Tis a shrewd doubt	G4r, 34	SP	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.447	QF	Now do I see 'tis **true** (F) (**time** Q)	Q2	Now I doe see tis **true**	G4v, 13	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.453	Q	For tis of **Aspecks** tongues. ***he kneeles.***/Iag. **Pray** be content. (For 'tis of Aspickes tongues. Iago. Yet be content., F)	Q2	For tis of **Aspicks** tongues. ***he kneeles.***/Iag. **Pray** be content.	G4v, 18-19	ADD	Q2=Q1, VBla, ADD, SD: Berger correctly argues that it must be proved that the F 'yet' is not the work of a censor, but Shakespeare. The copying of Q1 to Q2 suggests a miss of following F censor and a copying or leaving of the line from Q (Berger 1991: note 50).
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.453	Q	For tis of **Aspecks** tongues. ***he kneeles.***/Iag. **Pray** be content. (For 'tis of Aspickes tongues. Iago. Yet be content., F)	Q2	For tis of **Aspicks** tongues. ***he kneeles.***/Iag. **Pray** be content.	G4v, 18-19	Q2=Q1	VBla, ADD, SD: Berger correctly argues that it must be proved that the F 'yet' is not the work of a censor, but Shakespeare. The copying of Q1 to Q2 suggests a miss of following F censor and a copying or leaving of the line from Q (Berger 1991: note 50).
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.453	Q	For tis of **Aspecks** tongues. ***he kneeles.***/Iag. **Pray** be content. (For 'tis of Aspickes tongues. Iago. Yet be content., F)	Q2	For tis of **Aspicks** tongues. ***he kneeles.***/Iag. **Pray** be content.	G4v, 18-19	VBla	Q2-Q1; VBla, ADD, SD: Berger correctly argues that it must be proved that the F 'yet' is not the work of a censor, but Shakespeare. The copying of Q1 to Q2 suggests a miss of following F censor and a copying or leaving of the line from Q (Berger 1991: note 50).
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.453 SD	Q	For tis of **Aspecks** tongues. ***he kneeles.***/Iag. **Pray** be content. (For 'tis of Aspickes tongues. Iago. Yet be content., F)	Q2	For tis of **Aspicks** tongues. ***he kneeles.***/Iag. **Pray** be content.	G4v, 18-19	SD	Q2=Q1; VBla, ADD, SD: Berger correctly argues that it must be proved that the F 'yet' is not the work of a censor, but Shakespeare. The copying of Q1 to Q2 suggests a miss of following F censor and a copying or leaving of the line from Q (Berger 1991: note 50).

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.454	Q	O blood, **Iago,** blood. (O blood, blood, blood, F)	Q2	O Blood, Iago, blood.	G4v, 20	Q2=Q1	F1's penchant for repetition is rejected by the Q2 editor. (See 3.3.458). This makes his choice consistent, though contrary to, Honigmann's modern edition.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.454	Q	O blood, **Iago**, blood. (O blood, blood, blood, F)	Q2	O Blood, Iago, blood.	G4v, 20	Vw	F1's penchant for repetition is rejected by the Q2 editor. (See 3.3.458). This makes his choice consistent, though contrary to, Honigmann's modern edition.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.458	F	Ne'er **keeps** retiring ebb but keeps due on (not in Q)	Q2	Ne'r **feels** retiring ebbe, but keepes due on	G4v, 25	Q2=F1r	Also VSCm. Q2 includes this long speech not found in Q (except last two lines), but feels the repetition of 'keeps' is incorrect. Honigmann Arden 3 keeps the repetition because it works with the imagery of ebbing and flowing.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.458	F	Ne'er **keeps** retiring ebb but keeps due on (not in Q)	Q2	Ne'r **feels** retiring ebbe, but keepes due on	G4v, 25	VSCm	Also Q2=F1r. Q2 includes this long speech not found in Q (except last two lines), but feels the repetition of 'keeps' is incorrect. Honigmann Arden 3 keeps the repetition because it works with the imagery of ebbing and flowing.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.3.466	QF	Witness, **you** ever-burning lights	Q2	Witness **the** euer-burning lights	G4v, 34	Vw	Like 'pie' this variant sees more like a change from quick look at only a phrase rather than the whole thought approach taken from the Q2 editor.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.00 SD	F	Enter Desdemona (**Desdemonia**, Q)	Q2	Enter **Desdemona**, Emilla, *and the Clowne.*	H1r, 16	SD	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.00 SD	F	Enter Desdemona (**Desdemonia**, Q)	Q2	Enter **Desdemona**, Emilla, *and the Clowne.*	H1r, 16	VSNC	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.5	F	**Clown**. He's a soldier.... (SP not in Q)	Q2	**Clo**. He is a soldier...	H1r, 20	SP	Q2 corrects missing SP in Q.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.13	F	to lie in mine own throat (**my**, Q)	Q2	to lie in **mine** owne throate.	H1r, 25	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.21	QF	To do this is within the compass of **mans wit** (**a man**, Q)	Q2	To doe this,is within the compasse of **mans witte**	H1r,31	ADD	F and Q2 opt for the broader expanse of a man's wit over simply 'a man'.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.38-39	F	This argues fruitfulness and liberal heart: / **Hot, hot** and moist (**Not hot**, Q)	Q2	This argues fruitfulnesse and liberall heart, / **Hot, hot** and moyst	H1v, 14	Vw	Hot' meaning passionate.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.48	F	**Come, now** your promise. (**come, come** , Q)	Q2	**come now** your promise	H1v, 24	Vw	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.56	F	No **indeed** my Lord (**faith**, Q)	Q2	No **indeed** my Lord.	H1v, 33	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.76	F	**Indeed**? is't true (I'faith, Q)	Q2	**Indeed**, i'st true?	H2r, 18	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.94	F	Des. I pray, talk me of Cassio./ Oth. The handkerchief? (not in F) @	Q2	not in Q2	H2r, 35-36	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.99	QF	Zouns. *Exit.* (Q) Away. *Exit Othello.* (F)	Q2	Oth. Away. *Exit*	H2v, 3	ADD	Q2 goes back to the Q shorter SD after referring to F for VBla.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.99	QF	Zouns. *Exit.* (Q) Away. *Exit Othello.* (F)	Q2	Oth. Away. *Exit*	H2v, 3	SD	Q2 goes back to the Q shorter SD after referring to F for VBla.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.103	F	I am most unhappy in the **loss** of it. (**losse**, Q)	Q2	I am most vnhappy in the losse **of it.**	H2v,7	ADD	Q2 retains Q's spelling of 'losse' even though using the F emendation of phrase at 3.4.103, 114, 122 in the same speech.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.114	F	Whom I, with all the office of my heart (**duty**, Q)	Q2	Whom I, with all the **office** of my heart	H2v, 19	Vw	3.4.103, 114, 122 all part of same speech.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.122	F	And **shut** myself up in some other course (**shoote**, Q)	Q2	And **shut** my selfe vp in some other course,	H2v, 27	VSCm	3.4.103, 114, 122 all part of same speech.
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.178	F	But I shall in a more **continuate** time (**convenient**, Q)	Q2	But I sahll in a more **continuate** time	H3v, 13	Vw	Arden 3 takes 'continuate' for 'uninterrupted'. Also used in Timon 1.1.11 'an untirable and continuate goodness'. Arden 2 uses 'convenient' and there are 3 refs. (is F the more Shakespearean reading? or are they equal in authority?)
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.187	F	No, **in good troth** Bianca (**by my faith**, Q)	Q2	No **in good troth** Bianca.	H3v, 24	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 3.4.187	QF	**who's** is it?	Q2	**whose** is it?	H3v, 25	VSCr	Arden 3 accepts Q2- Q2 corrects F and Q.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.33	QF	Oth. But **What**? (Q) Oth. **What? What?** (F)	Q2	Oth. **What**?	H4v, 9	ADD	Q2 rejects the repetition of F. Perhaps this is meant to balance with the next line which is also one word: 'Iag. Lye'.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.43-44 SD	F	Falls **in a Traunce**. (He falls **down**., Q)	Q2	Falles **in a trance**.	H4v, 18	ADD	Q2 chooses the F SD here. Perhaps because it follows immediately after a five line addition: 'To confesse and be hang'd ..... O deuill. *Falles in a trance.'* (14-18)
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.43-44 SD	F	Falls **in a Traunce**. (He falls **down**., Q)	Q2	Falles **in a trance**.	H4v, 18	SD	Q2 chooses the F SD here. Perhaps because it follows immediately after a five line addition: 'To confesse and be hang'd ..... O deuill. *Falles in a trance.'* (14-18)

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.58 SD	QF	----	Q2	Exit Cas.	H4v, 35	ADD	Arden 3 accepts Q2, but puts it at line 58 instead of 60.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.58 SD	QF	----	Q2	Exit Cas.	H4v, 35	SD	Arden 3 accepts Q2, but puts it at line 58 instead of 60.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.58-59 SD	QF	not in Q or F	Q2	Exit Cas.	H4v, 35	ADD	The original SD is missing in both Q and F. Arden 2 &3 have him leave earlier (a couple of lines before the end of Iago's speech) when Iago tells Cassio 'withdraw your self a little while'. Q2 ed., the only early ed. to contain the necessary SD, leaves it till the end of the speech. Any relation to the exit of the clown? While it shows that the person who inserted the SD was paying attention, it does not suggest a level of dramatic timing.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.58-59 SD	QF	not in Q or F	Q2	Exit Cas.	H4v, 35	SD	The original SD is missing in both Q and F. Arden 2 &3 have him leave earlier (a couple of lines before the end of Iago's speech) when Iago tells Cassio 'withdraw your self a little while'. Q2 ed., the only early ed. to contain the necessary SD, leaves it till the end of the speech. Any relation to the exit of the clown? While it shows that the person who inserted the SD was paying attention, it does not suggest a level of dramatic timing.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.65	F	**Good** sir, be a man (**God**, Q)	Q2	Iag. **Good** sir be a man	I1r, 4	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.68	F	That nightly **lye** in those unproper beds (**lies**, Q)	Q2	That nightly **lye** in those vnproper beds,	I1r, 7	VS	Preference for singular over plural.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.78	Q	-A passion most **unsuiting/unfitting** such a man (**resulting**, F)	Q2	(A passion most **vnfitting** such a man,)	I1r, 17	VSCm	Q2 editor seems to have seen the Q option as a misreading of copy, and unhappy with the F choice.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.81	QF	**Bad** him anon **return**, and here speak with me (**Bid**, retire, Q)	Q2	**Bad** him anon **retire**, and here speake with me,	I1r, 20	VSCm	Here the Q2 editor had to choose from what were probably interpretations of the same difficult to read word in the ms. Arden 2 & 3 both choose 'return' in context of the sentence. One wonders why, when given the choice, Q2 went for the more obscure reading. Perhaps thinking that, as in other instances, this was more in characteristic of the archaic language of the playwright?

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.112	F	Alas, poor rogue, I think **indeed** she loves me (**i'faith**, Q)	Q2	Cas. Alas poore rogue, I thinke **indeed** she loues me.	I1v, 16	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.127	QF	**Ha'** you **stor'd** me? Well. (**Have**, scor'd, F)	Q2	**Ha** you **scoar'd** me? well.	I1v, 32	VSCr	Arden 3 takes Q, Arden 2 takes F (opposite of their copytexts).
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.131	Q	Oth. Iago **beckons** me, (**becomes**, F)	F2	Iago **becons** me		VSCm	F2 restores the Q reading lost in F (Q2 = beckons).
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.135	F	and, **falls me** (**by this hand, she falls** , Q)	Q2	this bauble, **fals me** thus	I1v, 38	ADD	Q2 and F change the focus to Othello as victim.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.144	QF	**Iago**. Before me! look where she comes!	Q2	SP not in Q2	I2r, 7	SP	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.161	QF	Iago. **Will** you sup there?	Q2	Iag. [ ] You sup there.	I2r, 23	ADD	Q2 decides to change the line from a question to a statement, strengthening Iago's character by showing him one step ahead of Cassio.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.162	F	Cassio. **Yes**, I intend so. (**Faith**, Q)	Q2	Cas. **Yes**, I intend so.	I2r, 24	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.172-175	Q2	Iago's line and SP not in Q2	F2	**Iago. Yours, by this hand: and to see how he prizes the foolish woman your wife! She gave it him, and he hath given it his whore. Oth.**I would have him nine years a killing	I2r, 33-34; F2 imge 838 pg350	ADD	The omission of such an important line makes it plausible that it was a mistake in copying. The speech would have been an addition from F as it is not in Q. (Q does have the correct SP) Maybe the lines were too filled in to be legible or there was just a compositor error, since it doesn't look like the Q2 editor sought to include the F speech at all. F2 follows F1 in including this line**.**
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.172-175	QF	**Iago. Yours, by this hand: and to see how he prizes the foolish woman your wife! She gave it him, and he hath given it his whore. Oth.**I would have him nine years a killing	Q2	Iago's line and SP not in Q2	I2r, 33-34	ADD	The omission of such an important line makes it plausible that it was a mistake in copying. The speech would have been an addition from F as it is not in Q. (Q does have the correct SP) Maybe the lines were too filled in to be legible or there was just a compositor error, since it doesn't look like the Q2 editor sought to include the F speech at all.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.172-175	QF	**Iago. Yours, by this hand: and to see how he prizes the foolish woman your wife! She gave it him, and he hath given it his whore. Oth.**I would have him nine years a killing	Q2	Iago's line and SP not in Q2	I2r, 33-34	SP	The omission of such an important line makes it plausible that it was a mistake in copying. The speech would have been an addition from F as it is not in Q. (Q does have the correct SP) Maybe the lines were too filled in to be legible or there was just a compositor error, since it doesn't look like the Q2 editor sought to include the F speech at all.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.179-80	QF	No my heart is turned **to stone**	Q2	no, my heatt is turn'd **to a stone**	I2r, 38	ADD	Q2 adds to the prose line.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.184	QF	Hang her, I do **but** say what she is	Q2	Oth. Hang her, I do **not** say what she is	I2v, 4	Vw	Q2's adding to the prose line here perhapsconfuses the meaning or does it suggest Oth.'s resistance to the idea of Des.'s impurity?
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.192-93	Q	Iago, the pitty (Q) Iago: O Iago, the pity of it, Iago (F)	Q2	Iago, **oh** the pitty.	I2v, 11	ADD	Q2 basically follows Q, but the Q2 editor inserts a bit of extra emotion but also rejects the repetition of F.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.215	F	**Save you** worthy general. (**God save the**, Q)	Q2	Lod. **Saue you** worthy Generall.	I2v, 31	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.230	F	Is there division **'twixt my** lord and Cassio? (**between thy**, Q)	Q2	Lod....Is there Diuision **twixt my** Lord and Cassio?	I3r, 9	VSCr	Q2 editor opts for the contraction giving a colloquial sounding variant to Lodovico.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.237	F	**Trust me** I am glad on't (**By my troth**, Q)	Q2	Des. **Trust me**, I am glad on,t.	I3r, 19	VSCr	Q2 opts for the more colloquial sounding (or modern?) variant.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.1.278-280	QF	You shall observe **him**, ... Do but go after / and mark	Q2	Iag. ...you shall obserue [ ]....Do but goe after **him**, And marke	I3r, 32	ADD	This looks like a case of misplaced correction where 'him' may have been omitted from the setting of Q2 originally and then the correcting mark was unclear or placed in the wrong spot because it fits in the later line.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.3	Q	Yes, **and** you haue seen Cassio and she together. ('and' not in F)	Q2	Yes, **and** you haue seene Cassio and she toghether.	I4r, 2	ADD	Berger (36) suggests that the F 'and' was removed for typographical reasons.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.3	Q	Yes, **and** you haue seen Cassio and she together. (and not in F)	Q2	Yes, **and** you haue seene Cassio and she toghether.	I4r, 2	Q2=Q1	Berger (36) suggests that the F 'and' was removed for typographical reasons.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.15-16	Q	If any wretch **ha'** put this in your head, / Let heaven **requite** it (**haue**, **requit**, F)	Q2	If any wretch **ha** put this in your head, / Let heauen **require** it	I4r, 15	VSCm	Perhaps a case of poor Q type quality?

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.18	F	the purest of **their wives** / Is foul as slander (**her sex**, Q)	Q2	There's no man happy, the purest of **their wiues**, / Is foule as slander.	I4r, 17-18	Vw	Q2 decides to follow F and link the image of 'their wives' to the husbands of the previous phrase. While it is less idiomatic than Q's reading, it is consistent in context and could be seen to follow the rule that the more obscure vocab. is believed by the Q2 editor to be the better reading.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.23	Q	And yet she'll kneel and pray, **I ha'** seen her do't (**haue**, F)	Q2	And yet shee'l kneele and pray, I **ha** seene her do't	I4r, 23	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.49-50	F	had they **rain'd** / All kinds of sores and shames on my bare head (**ram'd**, Q)	Q2	Oth....had he **rain'd** / All kindes of sores, and shames on my bare head	I4v, 17-18	VSCm	Arden 2 & 3 follow F.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.56	QF	To point his **slow unmoving fingers** at (**slow, and mouing**; finger, F)	Q2	To point his **slow vnmouing finger** at	I4v, 26	VSCm	Q2's conflation clarifies the image and tightens the language by choosing the most appealing qualities of each reading when either would have done for simple comprehension.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.73	F	Made to write 'whore' **upon** (**on**, Q)	Q2	Oth. Was this faire paper, this most goodly booke, / Made to write whore **vpon**?	K1r, 4	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.86	F	From any other **foul** unlawful touch (**Hated**, Q)	Q2	From any other **foule** vnlawfull touch,	K1r, 17	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.92-93 SD	QF	sav'd. *Enter* Emilia. Oth. Is't possible? (Q) (AFTER you, mistress. Enter Emilia, F)	Q2	whore of Venice, Enter Emillia. / that married with Othello	K1r, 24	SD	Q1 has the earliest appearance of Emilia, though only by one line from F, so is prb. following F. This would follow the philosophy of the clown's entrance, so far as timing, as it places Emillia on stage to be addressed and then dismissed by Othello just as she is called 'you mistress' at line.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.94	Q	We **ha'** done our course (**haue**, F)	Q2	We **ha** done our course	K1r, 28	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.101	QF	With **who**?	F2	With **whom**?		VSCr	For discussion of omitted 'm', see Honigmann, *Texts*, 89.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.104	Q	I **ha'** none (**haue**, F)	Q2	Des. I **ha** none,	K1r, 38	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.107	F	Lay on my bed **my** wedding sheets (**our**, Q)	Q2	Lay on my bed **my** wedding sheets	K1v, 3	Vw	Here and at 4.2.109-Q2 follows the repetition of F 'my' and 'meet'. Arden 3 accepts the repetition.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.109	F	Tis meet I should be used so, very **meet** (**well**, Q)	Q2	Tis meet I should be usde so, very **meet**	K1v, 6	Vw	See also 4.2.107 for repetition at intense moments in Des. character.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.111	F	The small'st opinion on my **least misuse**? (smallest opinion, on my **greatest abuse**, Q)	Q2	The small'st opinion on my **least misuse**.	K1v, 8	Vw	Q2 editor diverges from Arden 2 & 3 to F's 'least misuse'. Walker paraphrases as 'how enormous my smallest fault must have been that the least significance could be attached to it' (Arden 3, 280). Q is paraphrased as 'how have I misbehaved myself that he thinks it right to attach the smallest (adverse) judgement to my greatest fault?' (Arden 3 280). Both readings are challenging and yet the para. of F is easier to understand in the context. Perhaps the whole phrase being unclear was too much obscurity for the Q2 editor's comfort (as opposed to his approach to single words).
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.141	F	The Moor's abused by some **most villainous** knave (**outrageous**, Q)	Q2	The Moore's abus'd by some **most villanous** knaue	K2r, 4	Vw	It may be a coincidence that the next line contains the end rhyme 'Some base **notorious** knaue, some scurvy fellow' to pair w/Q2's choice of F.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.146	F	Even from the east **to th'** west (**to the**, Q)	Q2	Euen from the east **to'th** west.	K2r, 9	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.150	Q	**O good** Iago (**Alas**, F)	Q2	Des. **O good** Iago,	K2r, 15	VBla	F censor seeing 'Good' as 'God', changes the sense to a despair for Desdemona. Q2 chooses to go with 'Good' as 'good', enabling a sense of Des. naivety.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.155	F	in discourse **of** thought (not in Q)	Q2	in discourse, **or** thought	K2r, 21	Q2=F1r	VSCm, VP: The combination of variant spelling and punctuation makes the whole line a list 'in discourse, or thought, or actual deed, or that mine eyes, mineares, or any sense'.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.155	F	in discourse **of** thought (not in Q)	Q2	in discourse, **or** thought	K2r, 21	VP	Q2=F1r, VSCm, VP: The combination of variant spelling and punctuation makes the whole line a list 'in discourse, or thought, or actual deed, or that mine eyes, mineares, or any sense'.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.155	F	in discourse **of** thought (not in Q)	Q2	in discourse, **or** thought	K2r, 21	VSCm	Q2=F1r, VSCm, VP: the combination of variant spelling and punctuation makes the whole line a list 'in discourse, or thought, or actual deed, or that mine eyes, mineares, or any sense'
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.157	F	Delighted them: **or** any other Forme (not in Q)	Q2	Delighted them **in** any other forme	K2r, 23	Q2=F1r	Vw: In the same Desdemona speech as 4.2.155, here, the editor could have just absentmindedly kept the 'or' in line with all the others, but apparently having read the speech, identified that the sense of 'or' in F was incorrect or unclear. (Arden 3 follows Q2).

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.157	F	Delighted them: **or** any other Forme (not in Q)	Q2	Delighted them **in** any other forme	K2r, 23	Vw	VSCm: In the same Desdemona speech as 4.2.155, here, the editor could have just absentmindedly kept the 'or' in line with all the others, but apparently having read the speech, identified that the sense of 'or' in F was incorrect or unclear. (Arden 3 follows Q2).
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.170	Q	**Tis** but so (**It is**, F)	Q2	lag. **Tis** but so, I warrant you:	K2r, 37	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.172	QF	The messengers of Venice stay **the meat,** (F) And the great messengers of Venice stay (Q)	Q2	**The meate**, great Messengers of Venice stay	K2v, 1	ADD	An example of best of combo conflation. Includes F's reference to the food but rejects its placement after the reference to the messengers ridding Q2 of the awkward phrase 'stay the meat'.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.177-185	QF	set in prose (verse in Q)	Q2	sets Roderigo's lines in prose for first speech, but follows Q for second	K2v, 6-10, 12-14	MisL	Q2 follows what appears to be an anomaly of Q1 of printing some of Rod. lines in verse.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.192	F	comforts of sudden respect and **acquaintance**, but I find none (**acquittance**, Q)	Q2	of suddaine re/spect and **acquaintance**, but I find none.	K2v, 19-20	VSCm	Arden 2 and 3 take 'acquittance' to mean a discharge of a debt which goes with the theme of transaction in Rod.'s speech. Ridley describes the F reading as 'the substitution of the ordinary word for the rare' (Arden 2, 161).
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.195	F	nor '**tis** not very well. by ths hand, I think **it is** scurvy (it is...tis very scurvy, Q)	Q2	nor **t'is** not very well; I say **t'is very** scuruy	K2v, 22-23	VSCr	Q2 takes ''tis' from both Q and F.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.206-08	F	and even from this **instant** do build on thee a better opinion than ever before. (**time**, Q)	Q2	and euen from this **instant**, doe build on thee a better opinion then euer before	K2v, 32-33	Vw	Q2 reading opts for more specific, urgent time frame.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.2.235	F	He sups tonight with a **harlotry** (**harlot**, Q)	Q2	he sups tonight with a **harlotry**	K3r, 19-20	VS	Harlotry' is used by Shk. for harlot (RJ 4.2.14, 1H4 2.4.395) in this case, the Q2 ed. chose the more Shk. word.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.6	Q	return'd forthwith, **dispatch** (forthwith: **dismisse**, F)	Q2	I will be return'd, forthwith **dispatch** your Attendant there	K3v, 2-3	Vw	Q seems the more poetic reading here. (Arden 2=Q) (Arden 3=F)
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.16	QF	**I** would (Q) **I,** would (F)	Q2	[ ] Would you had never seene him.	K3v,14	ADD	Q2 chooses to drop the 'I' which is presented as 'Ay' in Arden 3.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.21-23	F	All's one: good **Father**, how foolish are our minds? (**faith**, Q)	Q2	All's one, good**father**; how foolish are our minds;	K3v, 18	Q2=F1	VBla; The lack of a space at this spot on the page could create a new word 'goodfather' or 'godsfather?' Or it may be a replacement of blasphemy. Berger is not happy with either reading.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.21-23	F	All's one: good **Father**, how foolish are our minds? (**faith**, Q)	Q2	All's one, good**father**; how foolish are our minds;	K3v, 18	VBla	Q2=F1; The lack of a space at this spot on the page could create a new word 'goodfather' or 'godsfather?' Or it may be a replacement of blasphemy. Berger is not happy with either reading.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.22-23	F	**those** same sheets (**these**, Q)	Q2	Emil**.** I have laid those sheets ... Des. ...prithee shroud me In one of **those** same sheets	K3v, 17, 19-20	VSCm	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.26	F	she **had** a song of 'willow' (**has**, Q)	Q2	she **had** a song of willow	K3v, 23	VT	As Des.'s mother 'had a maid cal'd Barbary' (K3v, 21) Q2's correction of VT seems right.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.31 (31-52)	F	Barbarie (not in Q)	Q2	Barbary	K3v, 28-29	VSNC	(section not in Q=evidence of Q2 correcting emendations) Q2 standardises the name in opposition of F's variation. This is the second appearance of this name
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.37 (31-52)	F	I know a lady in Venice would have walked **barefoot** to Palastine for a touch of his **nether** lip' (not in Q)	Q2	Em. I know a Lady in Venice, would haue walk'd **barefooted** to Palestine, for a touch of his **neither** lip.	K3v, 35-36	VSCm	Arden eds. follow F.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.39 (31-52)	F	sat **singing** by a sycamore tree	Q2	sate **sighing** by a sicamour tree	K4r, 2	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.39 SD (31-52)	Q2	Desdemona sings. (centered above italics)	F2	Des. (not in Q) and compressed typo	K4r, 1	VTYPO	Q2 takes a moment to give this song a proper typographical treatment with a title heading of the SD. F2 follows F1 in a compressed typography, and F spelling of 'Willough' which was corrected in Q2.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.39 SD (31-52)	F	Des. (not in Q)	Q2	Desdemona sings. (centered above italics)	K4r, 1	SD	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.40 (31-52)	F	Willough	Q2	willow	K4r, 3	VS	Q2 corrects this spelling throughout the song.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.45 (31-52)	F	Her salt tears fell from her **and** softened the stones	Q2	Her salt teares fell from her, **which** softned the stones	K4r, 8	Vw	Arden 2 follows Q2, perhaps because this reading seems more specific.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.49 (31-52)	F	Prithee **high** thee	Q2	Prethee **hie** thee	K4r, 11	VSCm	Q2 chooses (I think correctly) the singing definition and more poetical in context of dramatic moment. While both would sound the same, as a reading text, 'hie' seems more correct.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.53	QF	**It's** the wind (F) It is (Q)	Q2	Em. **T'is** the wind.	K4r, 15	VSCr	Q2 shows its preference for 'Tis' here in the face of Q and F variants.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.54	F	I called my love false **love (not in Q)**	Q2	I call'd my loue false [ ]	K4r, 16	ADD	Q2 rejects the repetition here. Losing the extra 'love' makes the line two even phrases of 5 syllables. Q2 could be trying to retain the song rhythm.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.63, 67	QF	F& Q: deed In 67 thing Q, F deed	Q2	Des. Wouldst thou do such a **thing**, for all the world?....Des. Wouldst thou do such a **deed**, for all the world?	K4r, 27, 32	Vw	Q2 first rejects Q, and F for 'thing' and then follows F. Like Q2 editor took both options and dispersed them. Supports 'all the words' theory of combo conflations?
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.66	Q	**do it as well** in the dark (Q) doo't as well i'th' dark	Q2	I might **as well doe it** in the darke.	K4r, 31	ADD	This is essentially a choosing of Q, but Q2's decision to invert the phrases provides a less sexually explicit meaning.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.69	F	In troth (Good troth, Q)	Q2	In troth	K4r, 35	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.70	F	Introth (By my troth, Q)	Q2	In troth I think I should	K4r, 36	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.73	F	nor any **petty** exhibition (**such**, Q)	Q2	nor any **petty** exhi-/bition	K4v, 2-3	Vw	Q2 choses the more specific reading.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.74	F	**why**, who would not (**'ud's pity**, who would, Q)	Q2	**Why** who would not	K4v, 3	VBla	
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.101	F	Then let **them** use us well: else let **them** know (not in Q)	Q2	Then let **em** vse vs well, else let **em** know	K4v, 30	VSCr	Q2's choice to use the contraction goes w/Emilia's more coarse personality in comparison to Des. (even though she is speaking in verse).
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.103	F	**Heaven** me such **uses** send (**God**, **usage**, Q)	Q2	**heauen** me such **uses** send	K4v, 32	VBla	also VSCm
OTH	Arden 3, 4.3.103	F	**Heaven** me such **uses** send (**God**, **usage**, Q)	Q2	**heauen** me such **uses** send	K4v, 32	VSCm	also VBla-
OTH	Arden 3, 4.4.39	F	soul sat **singing** by a Sicamour tree (not in Q)	Q2	soule sate **sighing** by a sicamour tree.	K4r, 2	Q2=F1r	VSCm: Uncorrected F was 'sining'.
OTH	Arden 3, 4.4.39	F	soul sat **singing** by a Sicamour tree (not in Q)	Q2	soule sate **sighing** by a sicamour tree.	K4r, 2	VSCm	Q2=F1r: Uncorrected F was 'sining'.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.5	QF	And fix **most** firm thy resolution. (Q, F)	Q2	And fixe **more** firme thy resolution.	L1r, 3	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.7	F	Here at thy hand be bold, and take thy **stand**. (**sword**, Q)	Q2	Iag. Here at thy hand, be bold, and take thy **stand**.	L1r, 5	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.11	F	I have rubbed this young **quat** almost the the sense (**gnat**, Q)	Q2	I haue rubd this young **Quat** almost to the sense,	L1r, 9	Vw	Quat meaning pimple, small boil (Ridley, 170).
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.25	F	But that my coat is better than thou **know'st**. (**think'st**, Q)	Q2	But that my coate is better then thou **know'st**	L1r, 24	Vw	Q2 opts for the more specific/definite 'know' rather than 'think'.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.27	Q2	Cas. I am maimd for euer, light ho, **murder**,	F2	**murther murther** (also F)	L1r, 27;ISE image 841	ADD	F2 follows F1 in spelling and repetition. Q2: repetition is rejected here/ literary reading effect?
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.27	QF	Cas. ...**murder, murder** (Q) murther murther (F)	Q2	Cas. I am maimd for euer, light ho, **murder**,	L1r, 27	ADD	repetition is rejected here/ literary reading effect?
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.29	Q	Oth. Hark, **'tis** even so. (**It is**, F)	Q2	Oth. Harke,**tis** euen so.	L1r, 31	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.34	F	And your unblest **fate hies**. (**fate hies apace**, Q)	Q2	And your vnblest **fate hies**	L1r, 36	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.62-63 SD	QF	----	Q2	Thrusts him in.	L1v, 30	ADD	Arden 3 accepts Q2's use of a SD here, but uses the more general 'Stabs Roderigo.' (Also in Rowe).
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.62-63 SD	QF	----	Q2	Thrusts him in.	L1v, 30	SD	Arden 3 accepts Q2's use of a SD here, but uses the more general 'Stabs Roderigo.' (Also in Rowe).
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.63	F	Kill **men** i' th' dark (**him** i'the, Q)	Q2	Iag. Kill **men** i'th darke?	L1v, 32	Vw	The more general reference to 'men' is more in the vain of the moral platitude Iago is going for in his feigning ignorance.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.75-76	Q	Bianca. O my dear Cassio! O my sweet **Cassio! Cassio, Cassio**! (F has 4 final cassio's)	Q2	Bia. O my deare Cassio, O my sweet **Cassio, Casio, Cassio.**	L2r, 9	ADD	Chooses not to add the extra Cassio in F. Four printed in a row, perhaps too much?
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.82-83	F	Iago. Lend me a garter. So: --for a chair, / To bear him easily hence. (not in Q)	Q2	Iag. Lend me a garter, so; --oh for a chaire to beare him easily hence.	L2r, 14-15	MisL	Q2 corrects to prose. Arden 2 & 3 keep as in F.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.104	QF	O beare him out **o'th aire.** (Oh beare him **o'th'Ayre**., F)	Q2	O beare him out **o'the aire**.	L3r, 38	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.106-107	Q	Doe you perceiue the **ieastures** of her eye,/ Nay an you **stirre**, we shall **haue** more anon (gastnesse, stare, hear; F)	Q2	Do you perceiue the **ieastures** of her eye? / Nay, an you **stirre**, we shall **haue** more anon:	L2v, 2-3	Q2=Q1	Q2 reinforces the energy of reference to the eye with the change in punct.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.106-107	Q	Doe you perceiue the **ieastures** of her eye,/ Nay an you **stirre**, we shall **haue** more anon (gastnesse, stare, hear; F)	Q2	Do you perceiue the **ieastures** of her eye? / Nay, an you **stirre**, we shall **haue** more anon:	L2v, 2-3	VSCm	Q2 reinforces the energy of reference to the eye with the change in punct. Berger argues, rightly I think, for Q1 with Q2- it just seems to make more sense in the subtle complexity of the play (37)
OTH	Arden 3, 5.1.128	Q	will you go on, **I pray**, (**on afore**?, F)	Q2	Will you go on? **I pray**:	L2v, 25	VBla	The Q2 editor demonstrates more interest in the actual text than the censor in F, recognising that the use of 'pray' in this case is not religious in nature and so retains the Q1 version.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.00 SD	QF	Enter Othello with a light. (Q) Enter Othello, and Desdemona in her bed. (F)	Q2	Enter Othello with a light, and Desdemona in her bed.	L2v, 28	ADD	Not only does the Q2 editor combine the two stage directions, he does it better than the F1 by making the distinction that Oth. and Des. do not enter together in her bed in a way that would be clear to readers.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.00 SD	QF	Enter Othello with a light. (Q) Enter Othello, and Desdemona in her bed. (F)	Q2	Enter Othello with a light, and Desdemona in her bed.	L2v, 28	SD	Not only does the Q2 editor combine the two stage directions, he does it better than the F1 by making the distinction that Oth. and Des. do not enter together in her bed in a way that would be clear to readers.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.102	QF	I had **forgot** thee	Q2	I had **forgotten** thee	L4r, 34	VT	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.11	F	Thou **cunning'st** pattern of excelling nature, (**cunning**,Q)	Q2	Thou **cunningst** patterne of excelling nature	L3r, 1	VSCm	Q2 opts for the more exceptional version.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.13	F	That can thy light **re-Lume** (**returne**, Q)	Q2	That can thy light **relumine**	L3r, 38	Q2=F1r	Modern eds. opt for F's 'relume' which was first put to one word by Malone. Ridley notes that 'relume' and 'returne' 'would be easily confused'. He also suggests that 'return' maybe from an actor substitution. Notes this occurrence of 'relume' is earliest in OED, and word remains uncommon even later (Arden 2: 178). This may be the Q2 editor's attempt to take the correct context of relume and modernise or to make it a foreign sounding word. Either way it is an intriguing choice. It does however, as Evans notes, disrupt the meter (Praetorius 1885: iv)
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.13	F	That can thy light **re-Lume** (**returne**, Q)	Q2	That can thy light **relumine**	L3r, 38	VSCm	Modern eds. opt for F's 'relume' which was first put to one word by Malone. Ridley notes that 'relume' and 'returne' 'would be easily confused'. He also suggests that 'return' maybe from an actor substitution. Notes this occurrence of 'relume' is earliest in OED, and word remains uncommon even later (Arden 2: 178). This may be the Q2 editor's attempt to take the correct context of relume and modernise or to make it a foreign sounding word. Either way it is an intriguing choice. It does however, as Evans notes, disrupt the meter (Praetorius 1885: iv)
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.17	QF	Iustice **her selfe** to breake her sword once more (Q) (Iustice **[ ]** to breake her Sword. One more, one more (F))	Q2	Iustice **her selfe** to breake her sword : **one more**	L3r, 7	ADD	This is either a rejection of the F repetition or a following of Q with the omission of the 'c' in 'once'.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.19-20 SD	QF	He kisses her. (not in F)	Q2	kisses her.	L3r, 5	SD	While the Q2 editor retains the SD from Q, he inserts it 4 lines earlier than Q. While Q's place is relevant, the alternative spot in Q2 is not w/out precedent as it follows the point when Othello is closest to Des. 'I'll smell thee on the tree/ [SD]/ O balmy breath'.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.22	QF	It strikes **when** it does love (Q) I strikes **where** it doth love (F)	Q2	It strikes **where** it does loue	L3r, 12	Vw	Q2 keeps the Q line, but then opts for F's 'where' = 'even where it loves' (Ridley, 179) vs 'when' being 'just because it loves' (Ridley observes sim. usage in F's Antony and Cleo. 4.13,38 where F's 'when' is usually emended to 'where'). In this way, the agency of the F transmission effects the Q2 ed. transferring into quarto.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.29	QF	what **may** you mean by that?	Q2	Des. Alas my Lord, what **doe** you meane by that?	L3r, 21	Vw	Q2 veers from Q and F to a more definitive 'do' over the conditional. Also less affected-sounding speech.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.37	QF	And yet I fear you, for **you're** fatal then (F) **you are** (Q)	Q2	Des. And yet I feare you, for **y'are** fatall then,	L3r, 31	VSCr	The truncated syllable creates an iambic pentameter line.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.55	F	Cannot remove nor choke the strong **conception** (**conceit**, Q)	Q2	Cannot revoue, nor choake the strong **conception** / That I doe groane withall:	L3v, 16-17	VSCm	Arden accepts the contextual reading of F.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.57	Q	Des. **Then Lord** have mercy on me. (**O heaven**, F)	Q2	**Then Lord** haue mercy on me.	L3v, 18	VBla	Why Q2 didn't use the F here may be because 'Lord' in this case might be read literally to mean Othello? If so, it may indicate a bit of thought. The fact that Q2 ed. was revising lines above suggests he was already reading this section.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.64	QF	And **makest** me call what I intend to do (**makes**, F)	Q2	And **makst** me call, what I intend to doe,	L3v, 26	VSCm	While Q2's 'makst' might be a missed letter, it could also be an attempt to regulate the meter by creating a one syllable word as in (L3r, 31; 5.2.37).
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.81	Q2	SD He stifles her.	F2	SD he smothers her.	L4r, 11-14; ISE image 844, pg356, sig yy3v	SD	F2 follows F.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.81	F	Des. but half an hour///// Oth. Being done, there is no pause// Des. But while I say one prayer! Oth. It is too late.	Q2	Des. But halfe an houre. //////Oth. Being don, there is no pause. Des. But while I say one prayer. // Oth. Tis to late,	L4r, 11-14; ISE image 844, pg356, sig yy3v	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.81	Q	Des. But half an hour, while I say one prayer Oth. Tis too late	Q2	Des. But halfe an houre. //////**Oth. Being don, there is no pause.** Des. But while I say one prayer. //Oth. Tis to late,	L4r, 11-14; ISE image 844, pg356, sig yy3v	ADD	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.85	F	Des. O Lord, Lord, Lord! (Q not in F)	Q2	not in Q2	L4r, 14-15	ADD	Why Q2 ed. didn't include this line may be because of his constant aversion to repetition. It is likewise rejected by some editors (Honigmann 312).
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.89	Q	O good my Lord, **I'de** speak a word with you (Q) (I **would** F)	Q2	Em. O good my Lord, **I'de** speake a word with you.	L4r, 21	VSCr	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.118	Q	Out and alas! **it is** my lady's voice (**that was**, F)	Q2	Em. Out and alas, **it was** my Ladies voyce,	L4v, 14	VT	Q2 editor corrects the Q tense.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.132	F	Thou **as rash** as fire (**as rash**, Q)	Q2	Em. Thou **art rash** as fire	L4v, 32	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.147	F	O mistress**/** villainy hath made mocks with love.	Q2	Oh mistres, villany hath made mockes with loue:	M1r, 13	MisL	(Also Q2-F1r) One line in Q2 (line not in Q).
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.147	F	O mistress**/** villainy hath made mocks with love.	Q2	Oh mistres, villany hath made mockes with loue:	M1r, 13	Q2=F1r	(Also MisL) One line in Q2 (line not in Q) An example of space saving? Arden 3 follows Q2.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.148	F	My husband **say** she was false?	Q2	My husband **say that** she was false?	M1r, 14	ADD	(Not in Q). Q2 prefers the use of additional emphasis. This could be cueing off the repeats of 'that' in Othello's previous lines.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.163-64 SD	QF	Gratiano	Q2	Gragantio	M1r, 31	SD	(Also VSNC).
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.163-64 SD	QF	Gratiano	Q2	Gragantio	M1r, 31	VSNC	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.167	F	All. What is the matter? (Gra. F)	Q2	Gra. What is the matter?	M1r, 35	SP	Q2 agrees with F that the question doesn't need to be asked by all since Montano asks the same question one speech before.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.183	F	And your reports have set the **murder** on. (not in Q)	Q2	And your reports haue set the **murderer** on.	M1v, 14	VSCm	Q2 changes to a more specific point of focus on a person (Othello) than the act.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.184	F	masters, / it is true indeed	Q2	Nay, stare not masters, it is true indeed.	M1v, 15	MisL	One line in Q2 (accepted by Arden 3). An example of space saving?
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.188	F	I think I smell**'t O** Villany	Q2	I thinke, I smell **a** villany	M1v, 19	VSCr	This seems like a refining of the language that also perhaps clarifies the language for reading.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.195	QF	**Perchance**, Iago I will ne'er go home.	Q2	**Perhaps** Iago, I will ne're goe home	M1v, 25	VSCr	Left to his own devices, Q2 decides to insert a less obscure word.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.204	F	Shore his old thread **in twain** (**atwane**, Q)	Q2	Shore his old thread **in twaine**	M1v, 36	VS	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.209	QF	That she with Cassio **hath** the act of shame	Q2	That she with Cassio, **had** the act of shame	M2r, 3	VSCr	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.212	F	With **that** recognizance and pledge of love (**the**, Q)	Q2	With **that** recognisance and pledge of loue	M2r, 6	Vw	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.218	F	No, **I will speak as** liberal as the north. (I'll be speaking...**ayre**, Q)	Q2	**Ile be in speaking**, liberall as the **north**;	M2r, 13	Vw	Q2's choice of 'north' more specific than Q's 'ayre'.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.233	QF	**Precious** villian!	Q2	**pernitious** villaine	M2r, 33	VSCm	Q2 not followed- Honigmann glosses 'precious' as '(intensive) egregious)- does this represent an obsolete meaning? (Pair with use of word at 5.2.332)
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.251	Q	It **is** a sword of Spaine (was, F)	Q2	It **is** a sword of Spaine	M2v, 15	Q2=Q1	VT
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.251	Q	It **is** a sword of Spaine (**was**, F)	Q2	It **is** a sword of Spaine	M2v, 15	VT	Q2=Q1
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.251	Q	the **Isebrookes** temper (Ice brookes, F)	Q2	the **Isebrookes** temper:	M2v, 15	Q2=Q1	VSNC: Berger suggests that this is not a meaning change just a variant spelling. Does Q2 choose the Q spelling as more familiar to Caroline readers?
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.251	Q	the **Isebrookes** temper (Ice brookes, F)	Q2	the **Isebrookes** temper:	M2v, 15	VSNC	Q2=Q1: Berger suggests that this is not a meaning change just a variant spelling. Does Q2 choose the Q spelling as more familiar to Caroline readers?
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.252-53 SD	Q	Gratiano [within]	Q2	Gra. Within.	M2v, 16	SD	SD appears on line before Gratiano's speech with its own SP.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.252-53 SD	Q	Gratiano [within]	Q2	Gra. Within.	M2v, 16	VTYPO	SD appears on line before Gratiano's speech with its own SP.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.266	F	**And** very sea-mark of my utmost sail.	Q2	**The** very Sea-marke of my vtmost saile.	M2v, 31	Vw	Q2 decides to attribute extra emphasis to this particular image in the extended speech by having it become a summation with 'The'.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.270	F	**Now**: how dost thou look **now**?	Q2	[ ] **How** dost thou looke **now**?	M2v, 35	ADD	In this line that does not appear in Q, Q2 removes the extra 'now', eliminating the repetition.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.279-280 SD	Q	Enter Lodouico, Montano, **Iago** and officers. Cassio in a chaire.	Q2	Enter Lodouico, Montano, [ ] and officers, Cassio in a chaire.	M3r, 7-8	SD	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.282	F	Where is **that** viper? (**this**, Q)	Q2	Lod. Where is **that** Viper?	M3r, 11	VSCm	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.285	F	**Wrench** his sword from him (**WRing**, Q)	Q2	Lod. **Wrench** his sword from him.	M3r, 14	Vw	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.314-315	F	Be that, belike, Iago in the **interim** / Came in, and satisfied him. (**nick**, Q)	Q2	Lod. ...But that belike, Iago in the **interim** / Came in, and satisfied him.	M3v, 9-10	Vw	While Arden 2 & 3 both accept 'nick', interim can be seen as a sophistication. Also, as a nobleman Lodovico might tend to those kinds of words. A possible rationale for the Q2 eds. choice here.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.336	F	Soft you a word or two **before you goe** (not in Q)	Q2	Oth. Soft you, a word or two **before you goe**	M3v, 33	ADD	Q2 includes F's addition. The image 'before you go' gives a description of visual action of the noblemen that a reader would not know to include (action happening under the spoken lines).
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.340	F	Speak of **me as I am** (**them as they are**, Q)	Q2	Speake of **me as I am**	M3v, 37	Vw	While Q's phrase modifies the deeds, Q2 chooses F's focus on the person/s. See also 5.2.183.
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.341-42	QF	Then **must you** speak / Of one that loved no**t** wisely, but too well	Q2	then **you must** speake, / Of one that lou'd not wisely, but too well	M3v, 38-M4r, 1	Vw	
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.345	Q	Indian (Iudean, F)	F2	Indian		Q2=Q1	VSNC: F2 restores Q. (Q2 also has Indian sig. M4r, 4)
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.345	Q	Indian (Iudean, F)	F2	Indian		VSNC	F2 restores Q. (Q2 also has Indian sig. M4r, 4)
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.345	Q	Indian (Iudean, F)	Q2	Indian	M4r, 4	VSNC	Q2=Q1, F2 restores Q. (F2 referencing Q2?)
OTH	Arden 3, 5.2.348	QF	Drops tears	Q2	Drop tears	M4r, 7	VS	While QF are modifying 'indian', Q2 modifies 'eyes' at line 5.
PHL	Revels, 1.1.101	Q2	To **talke of** her perfect loue to you	Q3	To shew her so, as borrowed ornaments, / To **speake** her perfect love to you,	B1r, 6	Vw	While this variant is arguably more poetic it also **simplifies the meter** (from a triplet to straight iamb.) and also follows the tendency to more direct speech: she could talk of her love, or speak of it directly. This is a subtle connotation, but one seen in other places.
PHL	Revels, 1.1.223-224	Q2	Or backe such **belied** commendations, / And from this presence: **Spight of these bugs**,	Q3	Or back such **bellied** commendations, / And from this presence : **Sight of all these bugs**,/ you should heare further from me.	B3r, 26-27 (28)	ADD	These two changes as a combination show a cluster: 'bellied' is kept by Gurr as 'fits the metre more easily, and accords with the picture of 'fat' Pharamond'. **(context & meter)**
PHL	Revels, 1.1.223-224	Q2	Or backe such **belied** commendations, / And from this presence: **Spight of these bugs**,	Q3	Or back such **bellied** commendations, / And from this presence : **Sight of all these bugs**,/ you should heare further from me.	B3r, 26-27 (28)	Vw	These two changes as a combination show a cluster: 'bellied' is kept by Gurr as 'fits the metre more easily, and accords with the picture of 'fat' Pharamond'. **(context & meter)**

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
PHL	Revels, 1.1.243	Q2	Dare you be still my King, and **right me**?	Q3	Dare you be still my King, and **right me not**?	B3v,11	ADD	Gurr notes that Phil. proposes a paradox here, that the king exercise his authority as King and give Phil. the justice that would, in effect, not make him a king. Hawkins's emendation of 'not' creates a literal sense: how can you be my King and not do what is right? However his variant reading also reveals that he doesn't see the paradox. **(context= literal, but not poetic)**
PHL	Revels, 1.2.68	Q2	I **can** indure it: turne away my face?	Q3	Are. Turne then away thy face. / Phi. No. / Are. Doe. / Phi. I **cannot** indure it: turne away my face?	C2r, 19	Vw	Another instance of literal context - perhaps because they are being read v. heard? (**context= literal clarifies)**
PHL	Revels, 4.6.60	Q2	What cause couldst though shape to **strike** the princess?	Q3	What cause couldst thou shape to **hurt** the Princesse?	H4r, 30	Vw	Hawkins chooses to reuse a word from Dion's line above 'Vpon my shoulde that hurt her, tis the boy' (H4r, 27). It might be that the Q2 use of 'strike' here seems confusing since there is no 'strike' SD but there is the use of 'hurt'. It does seem to provide a kind of reader clarity as 'hurt' explains the Princess' condition. 'Strike' does appear on prev. page. (see Chapter 3) (**context reader clarity)**
PHL	Revels, 4.6.121	Q2	breath **forth** my spirit	Q3	I may weep floods; and breath **out** my spirit	I1r, 20	Vw	Literal, less poetic reading is perhaps an instance of **modernising** language. Thinking come 'forth' to be coming towards where as the 'out' is the breath leaving him. It is a thoughtful, but not nec. poetic moment. (**literal context)**
PHL	Revels, 5.2.20	Q2	And wast **by limbs** to nothing.	Q3	May I live spotted for my perjury / And waste **my limbs** to nothing	I2r, 23	Vw	Turner follows Q3. The choice to change 'by' to 'my' is consistent with the annotator's preference for **rhetorical balance by** matching line 19's 'my perjury'. Gurr notes that editors 'variously adopt' Q1 or Q3 (Gurr 95).
PHL	Revels, 5.4.30	Q2	And with this **washing** blow	Q3	And with this **swashing** blow	K1r, 37	VS	Is generally a synonym, but Gurr suggests that 'washing' may be the more obscure, noting its similar use in *Staple of News* 5.5.15: 'I doe confesse a washing blow'. It is perhaps the less common, but more poetic which would fall with our annotator's more pedestrian emendations. (**literal**, but **contextually** correct)
PHL	Revels, 5.5.83	Q2	Dion. Come sir, your tender flesh with **tire** your constantcy	Q3	Di. Come sir, your ender flesh will **trie** your constancie.	K4v, 23	VSCm	While 'tire' does ref. to the torture, 'trie' speaks to the point of the act which is to make him waver. It could also be a case of switched letters. (**context** clarify)

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 1.27-28	Q1	Duke. ... **Who's** else liues doubtfull, and his daies oft sorye, / **Who's** rich in Knowledge, ha's the stocke of glorye.	Q2	Duke. ... **Who**' else liues doubtfull, and his daies oft sory, / **Who**' rich in Knowledge, ha's the stocke of glory.	A2v, 8-9	VSCm	Danson CW agrees with Q2's dropping of the 's' in the first 'who'. It is unclear why the Q2 compositor also dropped the 's' on the second 'who' but left the apostrophes for both other than in a case of copying closely to a fault or if there had been correction notes that did not specify also to cut the punctuation. (**grammar)**
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 1.30.1-31	Q1	Infest. See, **heere hee** comes my Lord.	Q2	Infest. See, **heere [ ]** comes my Lord.	A2v, 13	ADD	An omission not retained by Danson or Petter. This may have been the result of eye skip, or a removal of visual **repetition** that can be less effective when read.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 1.109	Q1	Phoen. ...preuaild with **my** pittie	Q2	Phoe. ... preuaild with **[ ]** pittie	A3v, 22	ADD	An omission not retained by Danson or Petter. Thismay have been the result of eye skip, or omitted for easier fit to the line. 'Otherwise' takes the type all the way out to the end of the line perfectly. Content wise it makes an otherwise personal statement by Phoenix general, the opposite of most editorial type changes. (**specific)**
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 1.139	Q1	Fid. ... How can **that** King be safe that studies not / The profite of his people	Q2	Fid. ... How can **the** King be safe that studies not/ The profit of his people?	A4r, 14-15	Vw	Evidence of localised reading? The change to 'the' may reflect **modernisation style**, but Q1's use of 'that' here is consistent with Phoenix's line at 1.133: 'That King stands..'.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 1.168 SD	Q1	Exit. **Fidelo**.	Q2	Exit **Fidelio**.	A4v, 6	VSNC	Q2 corrects name spelling in SD.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 1.168 SD	Q1	Exit. **Fidelo**.	Q2	Exit **Fidelio**.	A4v, 6	SD	Q2 corrects name spelling in SD.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 2.36	Q1	Cap. ... I enuie thee, **that thou art** such a happye Knaue	Q2	Cap. ... I enuie thee, / **that are** such a happy Knaue	B1r, 3-4	ADD	While Q1 is accepted by Petter and Danson, the spacing around Q1's 'thou art' is rather extra, sometimes suggesting that words were cut or that there was extra space needing to be filled. Possibly the variant is a result of an addition in here?
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 2.63-64	Q1	[Captain]... before the Corne comes to **Earning**, tis vp to the **eares** in high Collars	Q2	Cap. ...before the Corne comes to **Earing**, tis vp to the **eare** in high Collars	B1r, 29-30	VSCm	Danson and Petter & Dyce & Bullen follow Q2 for first variant 'earing'. **(context)** The second may be an attempt at **grammar** (singular 'corn', singular 'ear') but suggests agent is unaware of the saying 'up to ones ears' as referring to human ears.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 2.70	Q1	[Captain] ... **cansumde** me before hee got me	Q2	[Captain] ... **consumde** me before he got me,	B1r, 35	VS	Modern eds. follow Q2's spelling which appears less phonetical and therefore perhaps a **modernisation.**

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 3.8-10	Q1	Prod. Faith y'are too nice, youle see me kindly **fourth: // Lady. And honourably welcome.** // Exeunt.	Q2	Prod. Faith y'are to nice, youle see mee kindly **forth and honourably welcome.** Exeunt. //// Lady.	B2v, 25-27	SD	According to Brooks, Q2 was following an uncorrected copy of Q1 (for which he admonishes the compositor for not checking a corrected copy- though it is not clear where he though Meighen would procure a second copy of the text more than 20 years after its publication (212)-this seems a bit harsh). He credits the Q2 compositor with correctly adjusting the exit SD to right after Castiza's line. However, the Q2 compositor failed to reassign the SP left dangling again demonstrating a limited editorial motivation on the part of this compositor.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 4.10-12	Q1	Groome. ... for your worship/ knowes those that are **vdder** men are beastes. / Phoe. How do's your Mother **sit**?	Q2	Groome. ... for your worship / knowes those that are **vnder** men are beastes. / Phoe. How do's your Mother **sir**?	B3r, 1-3	VSCm	All modern eds. prefer Q2's two readings here. **(context)**
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 4.33-34	Q1	Groom. ... **nay theeues** Geling eates less, ile **stad** too't	Q2	Groome. ... **nay a theeues** Gelding eates lesse, Ile **stand** too't	B3r, 22-23	ADD	All modern eds. accept Q2's addition. (**also example of expanded contractions)**
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 4.44	Q1	Phoe. ... villanous **Law-worme**, that eates holes into poore **mes** causes.	Q2	Phoe. ... villanous **Low-worme**, that eates holes into poor **mens** causes	B3r, 31-32	VSCm	Q2 variant misses the playing on 'law'. (**also example of expanded contractions)**
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 4.66-7	Q1	[first suitor] That wil make him declare to his sore griefe, I **thank** / your good worship	Q2	[first suitor] That will make him declare to his sore griefe, I **thinke**; / your good worship	B3v, 14-15	Vw	This Q2 variant seems to show the **Q2 agent working off the line break** to clarify sense of the line. Change to 'think' with the addition of the ';' for the long pause suggests linking 'I think' to the first phrase rather than the next line's 'your good worship'. Creates two separate thoughts by making the two phrases of the second line work together. **Clarification** though not accepted by modern eds. It is a resourceful way to clarify.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 4.144	Q1	[Tan] ... The[n] one cald me wittal **that's sixe**	Q2	[Tangle] ... then one cald me wittall **that's the sixe**	B4v, 12	ADD	Adding of a small word similar to other omissions. (**grammar**)
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 4.203	Q1	Phoe. ... And as chaste from **sale**	Q2	Phoe. ... And as chaste from **Fault**	C1r, 32	Vw	This moment of clarification, although to a more literal meaning, shares a striking resemblance in subj. matter to the variant in MW from 'false' to 'faire' also using the image of the chaste woman.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 4.266	Q1	Tangle] your horses stand heere **Gentleman**.	Q2	Tang] ...your hourses stand heere **Gentlemen**	C2r, 19	VS	A **grammar** correction to note that both Phoenix and Fidelio have horses. Accepted by all modern eds.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 6.8-9	Q1	[first suitor] Onely to graunt your worships warrant, which **is of sufficient** force to compell him	Q2	[first suitor] Onely to grant your worships warrant, which **is suffi- / cient** force to compell him.	C3r, 5-6	ADD	Omission of 'of' may be case of eye skip as the word is the last on its line in Q1. It is also of the same character of small cuts that have no large impact on the meaning.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 6.37-8	Q1	**that that** he would not appeare	Q2	Fals. ... **that** he would not appeare	C3r, 31-2	ADD	Omitted unnecessary repetition of 'that' in Q1 that was probably a compositor error with the first 'that' being the final word on the previous page.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 8.248-49	Q1	Fid. ... Fooles that enter into **bonds**, and Knaues that binde e'm.	Q2	Fid. ... Fooles that enter into **bands** and Knaues that binde e'm.	D4v, 6-7	VSCm	Use of 'bands' may be a **style** preference. It suggests a lack of familiarity with the legal language that abounds in this play. 'Bands', however, would be known to the average person as part of the process of posting the bands for marriage and fools entering into marriage is a theme in this play, as well as CW and MW.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 9.82-4	Q1	Fals. ... is it not then / fit your owne **flesh and bloud** should come neerest / to you? **answere me to that** Neece.	Q2	Fal. is it not then fit your owne **and** / **flesh blood** shuld come neerest to you? **answer me that** Neece:	E3r, 6-7	VTYPO	Omission strongly suggests a space saving choice. Falso's speech to his niece takes four lines in Q1 but only 3 in Q2 and is very tightly spaced with little or no space between words on the third line. This focus on fitting in all the words may also account for the incorrect word order of 'and' and 'flesh' in the common phrase 'flesh and blood'. This variant along with 9.133-4 and 9.109 all happen on the same page or very close by showing the bundled mixture of corrections and errors that suggest two layers of agent interaction w/the text.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 9.109	Q1	Whi. Ile attend your **god** worships comming out.	Q2	Whi. Ile attend your **good** worships comming out	E3r, 33	VSCm	This variant along with 9.133-4 and the error at 9.82-4 all happening on the same page or very close by show the bundled mixture of corrections and errors that suggest two layers of agent interaction w/the text.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 9.133-4	Q1	Fals. ... he has done a better deed in't then the parish is / **a aware off**,	Q2	Fals. ... he has done a better deed in't then the parish is **aware of,**	E3v, 17	VSCm	This variant along with 9.109 and the error at 9.82-4 all happening on the same page or very close by show the bundled mixture of corrections and errors that suggest two layers of agent interaction w/the text.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 9.175-77	Q1	**Tang**. A Latitat, sword and Dagger. / **Fals**. A writ of Execution, Rapier and Dagger. / **Fals**. Thou art come to our present weapon...	Q2	**Tan**. A Latitat, sword and Dagger. / **Fals**. A writ of Execution. Rapier and Dagger: / **Tan**. Thou art come to our present weapon	E4r, 18-20	SP	**Evidence of **annotating reader** behaviour. This change in the SP in Q2 is initiated by the typography of Q1 which sets lines 18-19 as two separate lines but both with the same SP 'fals.'. Seeing this, the annotating reader corrected the SP so that the second 'Fals.' line becomes an expected response (the line is a parallel construction from the Latitat line). This sets off a bit of a chain reaction of line attributions that on closer reading switch Falso and Tangle's lines. The level of reading and the focus on SPs here and later on in the same scene at 9.231 suggest the work of an annotating reader.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 9.231	Q1	**Fals**. I follow the sute still sir.	Q2	**Tang**. I follow the sute still sir.	E4v, 31	SP	Both Brooks and Ox Middleton accept Q2 change.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 10.9	Q1	Fals. ... a Iustices men should be vp first, and giue example **all [ ] knaues.**	Q2	Fals. ... a Iustices men should be vp first, & giue example **to al knaves**.	F1v, 6-7	ADD	Even though Q2 appears to be trying to save space here, the compositor still makes room for the addition of 'to' by shortening all to 'al'. Danson and Brooks accept Q2 addition. Corrects the **grammar** of sentence (group with 10.24, 40).
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 10.24	Q1	Latro. ... wee must flye out once a **quar- / te**,	Q2	Latro. ... wee must flye out once a **quarter**.	F1v, 22	VSCm	This variant seen w/ 10.6, 40 create a group of proof reading kinds of corrections to minor spelling and grammar for **clarification** of images.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 10.41	Q1	**Enter**. Vpon one of your best sir.	Q2	**Latron**. Upon one of your best Sir.	F1v, 37	SP	Annotating reader corrects another SP that is accepted by Brooks and Danson in CW.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 10.81	Q1	Fals. But I **scare** vnderstand you sir.	Q2	Fals. But I **scarce** vnderstand you Sir.	F2v, 2	VSCm	**evidence of reading**: A kind of sight error? The words look very similar that one might miss if just looking for obvious wrong words. **(context)**
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 10.116	Q1	Fals. ... and so encourage you to this **slinking** iniquitie?	Q2	Fals. and so encourage you to this **stinking** iniquitie?	F2v, 34-35	VSCm	This could be a misreading of Q1's 'sl' ligature or a change from a more obscure/poetic image to more accessible **style.** While Danson accepts this reading he provides no gloss.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 10.197, 203	Q1	Fal. ... Ile make you lye in mine own **honse**, or Ille know why... //// Furt. Vpon my **kees** sir.	Q2	Fals. ... Ile make / you lye in mine own **house**, or Ile know why.... //// Furt. Vpon my **knees** Sir.	F3v, 32-3, 38	VSCm	Correction of errors.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 10.232	Q1	Phoen. What Ladie? /// Neece. Tis my griefe I speake so true. /// Fid. Why my **Lord**?	Q2	Phoe. What Ladie? /// Neece. Tis my griefe I speake so true. /// Fid. Why my **Lady**?	F4r, 31-33	Vw	Q2 reader makes a switch in an attempt at **clarification** thinking that both Fid. and Phoenix are questioning her. It is not a terrible guess, for it is harder to argue why one is better or more confusing than the other. It is almost a matter of how the particular reader sees the scene.Both options could work in the world of the play. Danson and Brooks follow Q1 because it is the authorised Q. Q1's direction to 'Lord' does prompt Phoenix's next line.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 11.0	Q1	Enter Knight, and **Iewella**.	Q2	Enter Knight and **Iewellller**.	F4v, 22	SD	Evidence of localised annotation/correction. Not recognising that Jewella references the Jewellers Wife, but perhaps noticing all the SPs for 'jew.' in the following scene, led Q2 to produce this incorrect name. Out of character for an agent focused on SPs.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 12.79	Q1	Tang. his demurs will not help him, his Sursararaes wil but **play the knaues** with him.	Q2	Tang. ... his demurs will not helpe him, his Sursuraries wil but **play the knaue** with him.	G1v, 39	VSCm	Another example of a change which may be corrected trying to follow a common saying.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 13.10 SD	Q1	Enter **Iewell**.	Q2	Enter **Ieweller**.	G4r, 15	SD	As with SD at scene 11.0, the annotator extends the Q1 SD, but not knowing the content of the scene and going only by the SP below, once again puts the Jeweller instead of the Jeweller's wife in the SD.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 14.61	Q1	1. Off. Come, **come** away sir.	Q2	1 Off. Come **[ ]** away Sir.	H1v, 36	ADD	Omits **repetition.**
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 15.148	Q1	Duke. ... he appeares be- / fore him in a false Beard, and **owne of** his owne fellows takes his examination.	Q2	Duke. ... hee appeares before him in a / false Beard, & **one of** his own fellows takes his examinatio[n].	H4v, 4-5	VSCm	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 15.163, 164.1	Q1	Phoen. Behold the Prince to approoue it. [ ]	Q2	Phoe. Behold the Prince to approoue it **discouers himselfe.**	H4v, 19	ADD	This unique Q2 emendation may have been added in the margin intending to be a SD and then was absorbed into the text by the compositor or meant as a clarification to the action by having Phoenix deliver it as an embedded SD. Danson incorporates the SD, but places it after Proditor's 'O, Where?' and Phoenix's next response. It is possible that 'discover himself' may have meant just to take off part of the disguise and that Proditor still doesn't recognise the prince. There was space on alternative lines to enter the SD elsewhere, so it should be assumed that it was intentionally meant to go here and that that was where the annotator felt the **clarification** was needed for the **reader**.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 15.194	Q1	Prod. Torment **agen**?	Q2	Prod. **Tormentagent**.	I1r, 16	VS	Example of Q2 reader fixing visual errors with the most literal representation of the word. It does not seem to show any evidence of reading. Danson converts to Dyce's 'Torment again' which follows the Q1's 'agen' as a variant spelling of 'again'.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 15.233, 237, 240	Q1	Phoe. ... **That** dost deceiue Three with one faigned lip.///...Thou'rt cursse enough to husbands **il-got gaines**, //... **Now** few but are by there wiues copies free	Q2	Phoe. ... **Thou** dost deceiue three with one faigned lip, // Thou'rt cursse enough to husbands **il-got gain**: //... **How** few but are by their wiues copies free,	I1v, 15, 19, 22	Vw	While this could be an attempt at anaphora, an answer more in line with the character of the bulk of variants is probably that this is a symptom of eye skip from **haste** as the first and second variant are copies of the word beginning the line directly above them.
PHX	MiddletonCW, scene 15.314	Q1	Qui. You'r quieter I hope by **so much** Dreggs.	Q2	Qui. You'r quieter I hope by **[ ] much** Dreggs.	I2v, 23	ADD	Omission and possible **haste.**
TS	Arden 3, 00.1.21	F	Hunts.	Q	1 Hunts.	A2v, 16	SP	Hodgdon uses SP from next speech of 1 Huntsman in Q to standardise. Q uses '1 Hunts.' when both 1 & 2 appear on the same page for the first time. (A2v)
TS	Arden 3, 00.1.87	F	Sincklo	F2	Sin.		SP	Q follows F intermingling 'sincklo' with 'player' (A2r).
TS	Arden 3, 00.1.109	F	bear	Q	bare	A3v, 14	VSCm	Q seems to mistake the definition of bare, maybe thinking of 'bare ones teeth', but actually, F is correct.
TS	Arden 3, 00.1.114	F	will	Q	doth	A3v, 19	VT	Future tense to archaic 3rd person sing. present (OED).
TS	Arden 3, 00.2.2	F	Lord	Q	lordship	A4r, 10	VSCr	
TS	Arden 3, 00.2.17	F	Sies	Q	Slies	A4r, 25	VS	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
TS	Arden 3, 00.2.95-96	F	Beg. Now..amends. /	Q	Beg. Now...amends. All. Amen	B1r, 25	VTYPO	Q only has line sharing of short line.
TS	Arden 3, 00.2.137	F	It is **a a** kind of history.	Q	It is **a** kind of history.	B1v, 31	ADD	deletion is a correction of F/ RSC ed. Ind 2.137/ F2 also corrects
TS	Arden 3, 1.1.25	F	Me **pardonato**	Q	Me **pardinato**	B2r, 23	VSFL	Arden changes to Mi perdonato
TS	Arden 3, 1.1.47 SD	F	Enter Baptista with **his** two daughters, Katerina and Bianca, Gremio a Pantelowne, **Hortentio sister to Bianca,** Lucentio and Tranio standy.	Q	Enter Baptista with **andhis** two daughters , Katerina Bianca, Gremio a Pantelowne, **Hortentio sister to Bianca**. Lucen Tranio,standby.	B2v, 7-9	SD	Also ADD.
TS	Arden 3, 1.1.106	F	you: **Their** love?	Q	you: **There** love	B3r, 34	VS	
TS	Arden 3, 1.2.135-36 SD	F	Enter Gremio and Lucentio disgused.	Q	Enter Gremio and Lucentio disguisd.	C3r, 5	SD	F, Q, F2 all vary ; VS
TS	Arden 3, 1.2.135-36 SD	F	Enter Gremio and Lucentio **disgused**.	Q	Enter Gremio and Lucentio **disguisd**.	C3r, 5	VS	F, Q, F2 all vary
TS	Arden 3, 2.1.77-78 SD	F	Enter Baptista, Gremio, **Trayno**.	Q	Enter Baptista, Gremio, **Tranio**.	D4v, 22	SD	F2 follows F; Q corrects ; VSNC
TS	Arden 3, 2.1.150	F	most	Q	moist	D3r, 8	VSCm	Q makes no sense.
TS	Arden 3, 2.1.277 SD	F	Trayno	Q	Tranio	D4v, 22	VSNC	SD; Arden 3 accepts Q
TS	Arden 3, 2.1.277 SD	F	Trayno	Q	Tranio	D4v, 22	SD	VSNC; Arden 3 accepts Q
TS	Arden 3, 3.1.72	F	Are	Q	A re	E3v, 6	VTYPO	
TS	Arden 3, 3.1.74	F	cfaut	Q	C fa, ut	E3v, 8	VTYPO	
TS	Arden 3, 3.2.24	F	know	Q	knew	E4r, 13	VT	Creates disagreement w/rest of sentence in present tense. Perhaps trying to add the fact that he knew him to be wise from past experience. (practical, not nec. poetic)
TS	Arden 3, 3.2.28	F	a **very** saint	Q	a **verie** saint	E4r, 18	VS	
TS	Arden 3, 3.2.33	F	heard	Q	hear	E4r, 24	VT	Arden 3 accepts Q.
TS	Arden 3, 3.2.69	F	odde	Q	old	T2	VSCm	Arden 3 accepts ‘odd’ over ‘old’.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
TS	Arden 3, 3.2.69	F	od	Q	old	E4v, 16	VSCm	Q corrects misspelled word with ‘old’. Again Q shown trying to create a ref. to past Petruchio as w/ ‘knew’ and ‘know’ (E4r, 13).
TS	Arden 3, 3.2.107	F	with all	Q	withall	F1r, 13	VS	
TS	Arden 3, 3.2.174-82;	F	*verse speech set as prose*	Q	*keeps prose, changes punct.*	F1v-F2r	VP	(lines broke midway w/commas) and spacing
TS	Arden 3, 3.2.182	F	I heare the minstrels play.	Q	I hear the minstrels**,** play.	F2r, 5	VP	Comma in context suggests that ‘play’ is a command interacting with the following SD: ‘Musicke playes’. However, Gremio is commenting on the music he is already hearing ‘hark hark I heare the minstrels’.
TS	Arden 3, 4.1.23	F	Gru.	Q	Cur.	F4r, 24	SP	Arden 3 follows Q. Q repairs F error.
TS	Arden 3, 4.1.37	F	wilt thou	Q	thou wilt	F4r, 35	VS	Arden 3 claims change is in F2 but it is also in Q.
TS	Arden 3, 4.1.79	F	Nathaniel	Q	Nathaniell	F4r, 26	VSNC	Q adds extra ‘l’ on ‘Nathaniell’.
TS	Arden 3, 4.1.119	F	Gabrels	Q	Gabriels	F4r, 37	VSNC	Arden 3 claims change is in F2 but it is also in Q.
TS	Arden 3, 4.1.200 SD	F	Exit	Q	Exit.	G1v, 5	SD	VP
TS	Arden 3, 4.1.200 SD	F	Exit	Q	Exit.	G1v, 5	VP	
TS	Arden 3, 4.2.6	F	Now Mistris**,** profit	Q	Now Mistris [ ] profit	G1v, 13	VP	Folio offers more refined punct.
TS	Arden 3, 4.2.15	F	I **tel** thee	Q	I **tell** thee Lisio	G1v, 22	VS	Both Q and F2 correct F spelling of ‘tel’ but leave incorrect sp. of ‘Lisio’.
TS	Arden 3, 4.3.50	F	**too** blame	Q	**to** blame	G3v, 37	VS	Q corrects F. Arden 3 follows Q.
TS	Arden 3, 4.3.90	F	like demi cannon	Q	like **a** demi-cannon	G4v, 2	ADD	
TS	Arden 3, 4.3.149	F	where thou	Q	where**,** thou	H1r, 21	VP	Q corrects sense. Arden 3 follows Q.
TS	Arden 3, 4.5.00 SD	F	Enter Petruchio, Kate, **Hortentio**	Q	Enter Petruchio[ ] Kate[ ] **Hortensio**.	H3v, 23	SD	Corrects Hortensio, removes commas, and adds full stop. VSNC & VP
TS	Arden 3, 4.5.19	F	it **in** the blessed sun	Q	it **is** the blessed sun	H3v, 4	VSCm	Q corrects, Arden 3 follows Q, RSC claims this is in 1594 Q.
TS	Arden 3, 5.1.40	F	brough	Q	brought	H4v, 32	VS	Q corrects F. Arden 3 follows Q.
TS	Arden 3, 5.1.49	F	old worshipful old	Q	[ ] worshipful old	I1r, 1	ADD	

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
TS	Arden 3, 5.1.97 SD	F	Biancu.	Q	Bianca	I1v, 5	SD	Arden 3 attributes change to F2.
TS	Arden 3, 5.1.130	F	Gre. My cake is **doug,hbut**	Q	Gre. My cake is **dough, but**	I1v, 39	VP	
TS	Arden 3, 5.1.137	F	Mo	Q	No	I2r, 6	VSCm	
TS	Arden 3, 5.2.38	F	ha to **the** lad	Q	ha to **thee** lad	I3v, 21	VSCm	Phrase is a toast: 'Here's to you" (Arden 3 pg294) and 'thee' is meant to be 'you'.
TS	Arden 3, 5.2.38-39 SD	F	Drinkes to **Hortentio**.	Q	Drinkes to **Hortensio**.	I2v, 22	SD	Also VSNC.
TS	Arden 3, 5.2.58	F	therefore sir assurance,	Q	thereforesir**,** assurance,	I4v, 11	VP	
TS	Arden 3, 5.2.80	F	Bio. **Igoe.**	Q	Bio. **I goe.**	I3r, 27	VTYPO	
TS	Arden 3, 5.2.141-142 SD	F	Bianca**.** Tranio	Q	Bianca**,** Tranio	I2r, 13	SD	VP
TS	Arden 3, 5.2.142	F	**thretaning unkinde** brow,	Q	**threatning vnkind** brow,	K1r, 16	VS	
WGIG	Petter, 1.2.21	Q3	Enter the young Lord	Q4	Not in Q4	A3r, 23-24	SD	Q4 does not contain this enter SD which appears in Q1-Q3.
WGIG	Petter, 1.2.23	Q3	rigor **of your** youth	Q4	the rigor of [ ] youth	A3r, 25	ADD	Q4 omits the 'your' that creates the rhetorical balance in Q1-Q3. It could also be an attempt to characterise Young Lord Nonsuch as the youthful opposite of the older knight.
WGIG	Petter, 1.2.52	Q3	Visitation.	Q4	**Kni**. Visitation!	A4v, 22	ADD	Q4 inserts SP missing from all prev. editions 1-3.
WGIG	Petter, 1.2.155	Q3	Knight. No, no, wordes are to weake to wipe them off, when **deede** have put them on.	Q4	Kni. No, no, words are too weake to wipe them off, when **deeds** haue put them on.	B1v, 26	VSCm	Q4 change to 'deeds' creates subject/verb agreement for 'deeds have' as well as a parallel for 'words'.
WGIG	Petter, 1.4.10	Q3	I haue **kil'd** her	Q4	for I haue **kssd** her	B4r, 7	VSCm	This variant is difficult to read on the EEBO, however, it is possible that the double tall 'S' used here corrects the meaning in the line which is clearly meant to be 'kissed' over Q3's 'killed'. 'For I hue kssd her, and the French prouerb saies, *Fame baissee est demiioyce,* a woman kis'd is halfe inioyed'. In which case, it makes this change a good one reflecting awareness of content. It also suggests possible knowledge of the Q1 which also used 'kis'd'.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
WGIG	Petter, 1.4.39	Q3	touch Cynthiaes **brights** beames	Q4	touch Cynthiaes **bright** beames	B4v, 1	VSCm	Q4 dropping of Q3's 's' makes a sensical phrases out of Q3's distortion of Q1/2's 'brightest'.
WGIG	Petter, 1.4.48	Q3	but **honest wages**, will ye binde me to'y.	Q4	Lor. ... but **honest [ ]** Will ye bind me to'y.	B4v, 11	ADD	Q4 omits the character Wages's name, disrupting the play of 'honest wages'. It still makes sense with out it, which may be a coincidence. The fact that 'Will' is capitalised like a proper name suggests it might have been a case of eye skip.
WGIG	Petter, 2.1.1	Q3	[Lady] **Ye**, haue your eyes like **Sunne-glasses**, catch'd the heate of my beautie, and cast it on your owne heart	Q4	**Yea?** haue your eyes like **Sunne glances**, catch't the heate of my beautie...	B4v, 24-25	VSCm	The change from Ye to Yea? actually **clarifies** the ladies' opening as a question and expresses immediately her intended rejection of Young Lord Nonsuch's letter. 'Sunne-glances' v. 'sunglaces' is a less successful **clarification** of Q3's spelling of 'sunglasses' which originated in Q1.
WGIG	Petter, 2.1.3	Q3	and **doth** your sighes like bellowes, **make** it more inflamde?	Q4	and **with** your sighes like bellowes, **made** it more aflamde	B4v, 26-27	VSCm	The Q4 introduction of 'made' in place of 'make' appearing in Q1-3, may be a reaction to the Q2 change of 'doth' to 'with' that is then followed in Q3 and Q4. The removal of 'doth' also removes the change of verb tense from past to present that made Q1's 'make' follow the new tense. Without 'doth' the editor of Q4 correctly reads the tense of the Lady's lines as staying in the past tense: 'have' w/'made'. **(grammar clarification)**
WGIG	Petter, 2.1.70	Q3	distates	Q4	La. You distast me much sir, / Kni. Dost not **distast** me too sometimes, tell me true?	C1v, 24	VSCm	Petter chooses the Q4 spelling 'distast' because it is spelled exactly the same way in the previous line in earlier editions. Q4 thus is the one who adheres to the consistent spelling w/in the text. **(consistent/context)**
WGIG	Petter, 2.2.22	Q3	Young Lord Nonsuch. Where **abouts** is your house faire lady?	Q4	Lor. Where **about** is your house faire Lady?	C2r, 14	VS	Perhaps a **modernisation/style**?
WGIG	Petter, 2.2.85	Q3	Mistris Correction. ...twere greate fish, I may tell you too, to **Angle** for in a gallants great hose.	Q4	Mi. Cor. ...twere great fish, I may tell you too, to **Angel** for in a gallants great hose.	C3r, 5	VSCm	The change to 'Angel' for money here is understandable as it is a monetary imagery that Nonsuch and Mistris Correction are using in their back and forth. The use of the capital letter may have led the compositor to think it was a proper noun. The sense however, is not reflective of an actual reading of the speech for detail, rather, it suggests more of a skimming or paraphrasing level of attention. **(context/paraphrase)**
WGIG	Petter, 2.3.23	Q3	Nuecome...wee suffered our beardes careleslie to growe **downeward**	Q4	Nuc. ... wee fuffered our beards careleslie to grow **downewards**	C3v, 13	VS	This change may be evidence of **style** similar to the 'about' / 'abouts' in C2r, 14. It may also be a **parallelism** to the use of 'upwards' just above at line 20 (used in Q1-4): 'to suffer your beards to grow up wards thus'. **(context/consistent).**

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
WGIG	Petter, 2.3.53	Q3	**haue**	Q4	Peg. ...me thinkes you **hue** a prittie lace on your band.	C4r, 9-10	VSCm	A probable dropped letter that confuses the meaning.
WGIG	Petter, 2.3.113	Q3	Kni. ... Is not the Princes and **founders** of good artes Minerua	Q4	Kni. ... Is not the Princess & **foundresse** of good arts Minerua	D1r, 3	VSCm	Q4 refines the language of Q3's 'founder' to the correct gender. This change recalls the Q1 variant 'foundres'. While it is just outside the range of the Q1 insert used as copytext for Q4 starting at D4v (which I believe by looking at the variants is actually at D4r- since it stands alone as the only reference to Q1 in the D3 r or v), it is probably an editorial change rather than a symptom of the change in copytext to Q1. **(clarification context)**
WGIG	Petter, 2.3.161	Q1	Kni. ... & yet thou **wants** meate.	Q4	Kni. and yet thou **wantst** meate?	D1v, 17	VS	While this variant spelling offers no new reading, it may be a purposeful use of the 'st' ligature used two other times in the Knight's speech here: 'what wouldst thou haue? what wouldst thou feede on Quailes?' 14-15. Possible **paraellism** only because the knight has such particular speech patterns. However, the lack of space between the 'st' lig. and the next word suggests it was added in unintentionally and possibly and instance of foul case.
WGIG	Petter, 2.3.175	Q3	La. .. and looke here **a** comes.	Q4	La. ... I muse he staies so long, he should a beene by promise here an houre since, and looke here **he** comes?	D1v, 29-30	Vw	The use of 'a' instead of 'have' or 'he' is a common linguistic quirk of the Knight and Lady Troublesome. The annotating reader in this case appears to have missed this. Unless the change is considered alongside the change in punctuation from a full stop in Q3 to the question mark in Q4 suggesting the Lady's disbelief that it is Nonsuch because of his disguise. This would make it an instance of **readerly narrative** that emphasises the situation and prepares the reader for the following SD.
WGIG	Petter, 2.4.77	Q1	**Lor**. I goe, Yet this my comfort, in the gall of life, Suspition neuer wrong'd a truer wife. ***Exit.*****Lord**.	Q4	**La.** I goe, Yet this my comfort, in the gall of life, / Suspition neuer wrong'd a truer wife. ***Exit. Lady.***	D4r, 3-4	SD	Along with the SP at the start of line 3 where Q4 corrects a misattribution to Lady Troublesome's last lines here from 'Lor.' Q1 also subsequently misattributes the exit to the non-existent lord as well. Q3 fixes the SP to 'Lay.' but fails to fix the exit despite the fact that the typography is changed to centre the incorrect SD (support that Q4 is keeping the Q1 typography). Q4 is still following Q1 at this point rather than conflating. Q4 is the only edition to fix both. **(group correction / evidence of reading)**
WGIG	Petter, 2.4.77	Q1	**Lor**. I goe, Yet this my comfort, in the gall of life, Suspition neuer wrong'd a truer wife. ***Exit.*****Lord**.	Q4	**La.** I goe, Yet this my comfort, in the gall of life, / Suspition neuer wrong'd a truer wife. ***Exit. Lady.***	D4r, 3-4	SP	Along with the SD at the end of line 4, Q4 corrects a misattribution of Lady Troublesome's last lines here from 'Lor.' Q1 also subsequently misattributes the exit to the non-existent lord as well. Q3 fixes the SP to 'Lay.' but fails to fix the exit despite the fact that the typography is changed to centre the incorrect SD.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
WGIG	Petter, 3.1.4	Q1	And there threw on the **Sciclops**	Q4	And thereon threw the **Cyclops**	D4v, 10	VSNC	Petter does not record this Q4 **modernisation** of spelling. The same spelling occurs in Q3, so far the only ex. that might point to referencing back to the Q3 in the Q1 copytext section. As a result, it may be an example of the compositor or the editor of Q4's knowledge of classical spellings.
WGIG	Petter, 3.1.42	Q1	Nue. but y faith I haue no **siller**, yet I giue thee eighteene pence	Q4	Nuc. but yfaith I haue no / **siluer**, yet I guie thee eighteene pence in conceit	E1r, 17-18	VSCm	Q4 is the only 17th century edition to make this correction. Petter follows Q1. However, it is perhaps a **modernisation** that certainly makes the most sense to the modern reader.
WGIG	Petter, 3.1.87	Q3	Kni. **Wert** neuer in better fashion?	Q4	Kni. **Wer'y** neuer in better fashion?	E1v, 28	ADD	Along with a similar ADD of contraction 'y' at 3.1.206, this ADD clarifies by adding a pronoun to the line making it more correct though may not suit the rougher character of Wages. **(grammar)**
WGIG	Petter, 3.1.104	Q3	Wag. O Mistris Correction? **how doe** you?	Q4	Wag. O Mistris Correction ! [ ] **doe** you?	E2r, 7	ADD	Unique omission appears to be an oversight or an unintentionally dropped word.
WGIG	Petter, 3.1.206	Q1	Sla. **Hise** fellow Wages, pray a words **we**, doost mean to haue her?	Q4	Sal. **Histe** fellow Wages, pray a word **we'y**, doost meane to haue her?	E3r, 34-35	ADD	Petter accepts both Q4 variants here (which adds further credibility to the earlier contraction at 3.1.87), suggesting that they were done by the same person w/interest in fixing the grammar of the sentence. Notice, however, that it is done with a contraction rather than a fully written out 'you' which may signal an attempt to keep in the rougher language of the servants (in this case, Nonsuch posing as Slacker). **(consistency)**
WGIG	Petter, 3.2.46	Q1	Peg. ... I cannot haue as much **as suiter**	Q4	Peg. ...I cannot haue as much **as a suiter**	E4r, 22	ADD	Q4 addition corrects the **grammar**.
WGIG	Petter, 3.3.142	Q3	Wag. much lesse to **be** diuorced, although she **doe** transgresse	Q4	Wag. much lesse to **her** diuorced, although she **doth** transgress	F2v, 15	Vw	Suggests editor playing with lang. possible examples of **formalise** or **modernise**. Also clarifies, making the image more specific to the Knight's divorce of his wife specifically. The fact that both changes interact supports a moment of editorial revision even if it is only **style specific.**
WGIG	Petter, 4.1.22-23	Q3	Slacke. ... why **doe you** / not knowe the Phylosophers holde...	Q4	Slacke. ... why **doe your** / not know the Phylosophers hold...	F3v, 10-11	VSCm	
WGIG	Petter, 4.1.134	Q3	Wag. ... considering all that he **haue**, is in reuersion of him	Q4	Wag. ...considering all that he **hath**, is in reuersion of him	G1r, 10	Vw	Use of 'hath' instead of 'haue' could be included with the preference of 'doth' for 'do' at 3.3.142 and could be looked at as a stylistic preference. (OED on line has only one ref.)

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
WGIG	Petter, 4.2.2	Q3	Lor. Hee that a long way voyage takes in hand, **feares** dangerous Gustes at Sea, and stormes.	Q4	Lor. Hee that a long way voyage takes in hand, **feare** dangerous Gustes at Sea, and stormes.	G1r, 21	VSCm	Q4's dropping of the grammatically correct 's' on 'Feares' seems like a mechanical necessity to make the line fit in the set frame. This page (G1r) seems to lack the grammatical corrections found in other spots, it resonates with Black and Shaaber's theory that multiple agents will leave varying levels of emendation/variants. In this case, such a change is uncharacteristic of the interest in correct **grammar** and if it was a choice by the compositor during setting then perhaps the annotating editor did his work on the copytext before setting, or this page was not checked/proofed.
WGIG	Petter, 4.2.5	Q3	And beat his weryed **carkasse** to the earth	Q4	and beate his wearyed **carkasses** to the earth	G1r, 24-25	VS	Another example of an unconstructive / disadvantageous variant on this page.
WGIG	Petter, 4.3.27	Q3	Wag. What? Make ye **friends** againe?	Q4	Wag. What? Make ye **frinds** againe?	G2r, 5	VS	Missing 'e' creates nonsensical word, continuing the poor shape of the G signature.
WGIG	Petter, 4.3.36	Q3	Wages. O lasse sir, you know I must feede **on** Quailes.	Q4	Wag. O lasse sir, you know I must feed **one** Quailes.	G2r, 15	VSCm	A rare example of a VSCm that does not provide a sensical meaning unless to 'feed one Quailes' is mistook as a saying.
WGIG	Petter, 4.3.42	Q3	Wag. ... haue ye not **gelded** and cutte off all the content of Marriage?	Q4	Wag. haue ye not **geldedy ourselfe** and cut off all the content of Marriage?	G2r, 22-23	ADD	**This may be a good example to support the idea that this sheet was set by an inexperienced compositor after the changes were made to the copytext. The additions of 'geldedy ourself' helps to make the statement more **specific** as seen at 3.3.142. This intention is in part thwarted by the missetting suggesting that the addition may have been difficult to read in the copytext. The 'y' on the end of 'geldedy' may be similar to E1v, 28 where the pronoun 'ye' is contracted onto 'were' and 'to we' at E3r, 34-35.
WGIG	Petter, 4.4.23-24	Q3	Nuc. ... Why what doth a take me for, **I thinke**?	Q4	Nuc. ... Why what doth a take me for, **thinkest thou**?	G3v, 27-28	ADD	Along the same lines as 4.3.42, this addition seeks to clarify this statement. Possibly from reading the Boy's following line 'A takes you for a Gentleman sir, I think' which is easily read as a direct response, the Q4 ADD takes a vague phrase that may have been left as a quirky characterisation of Nuecome's speaking into the glass and makes it clearer in terms of **context clarification.**
WGIG	Petter, 4.4.74	Q3	Nuc: ... yet the **griefs** the lesse, because he came from Peg	Q4	Nuc. ...yet the **griefe** the lesse, because hee came from Peg	G4v, 10-11	VSCm	This change creates an awkward sentence structure (with 'e' and 's' next to each other in the case, it is poss. an instance of foul case).
WGIG	Petter, 4.5.75	Q3	**Knight**. What, haue you neuer a paire of Virginalls in the house Ladie?	Q4	**Exhib**. What, haue you neuer a parie of Virginalls in the house Lady?	H2r, 2	SP	Q4 corrects the SP in the dialogue between Lady Troublesome and Master Exhibition. Accepted by Petter Q4 is the first quarto to catch this misattribution.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
WGIG	Petter, 5.1.92	Q3	Knight. .. Four houres seeme **yeere'**, till it, be published.	Q4	Knight. ... Four houres seeme **yeere's**, till it be published.	H4v, 29	VSCm	This variant demonstrates a **limited correction** in that it corrects the saying 'houres feel like years' by restoring the plural parallelism. It does not, however, fully correct the spelling of "yeere'" nor the use of the apostrophe. Rather than reset the word, it may be that the 's' is just tagged on, meaning that the compositor chose not to reset the word, or did not see the spelling and misuse of the apostrophe as a problem.
WGIG	Petter, 5.2.3	Q3	Ladie. ... he is neuer / **off, off my sleeve,** and yet I shunne him like the Pest.	Q4	Ladie. ...hee is like a Badge on a Coate, hee is neuer / **off my sleeue** and yet I shunne him like the Pest.	H4v, 35-36	ADD	Dropping of the extra 'off,' smoothes the line adding a bit of **clarification** and perhaps steadying the **grammar.** A surprisingly good emendation for the latter part of this quarto which for the last two signatures has had mostly arbitrary variants. (**style)**
WGIG	Petter, 5.3.8	Q3	Knight: ... for wee doe giue as Merchants venture, for a treble **againe**	Q4	Knight. ... for we doe giue as Merchants venture, for a treble **gaine**,	I1v, 32-33	VSCm	Even though Petter accepts the Q3 'againe', probably because it appears in Q1&Q2, Q4's change to 'gaine' actually brings sense to the line. **(clarification)** Again the level of editorial agency seems to have gone up to a level of comprehension at least at the single image level making it more like signatures before G and H.
WGIG	Petter, 5.3.19	Q3	Lady. O my still beloued Husband, like filth or durt, **doe not flea me** like a Serpent, which comes to sting thy bosome	Q4	Lady. O my still beloued Husband, like filth or durt, **doe fly me** like a Serpent, which comes to sting thy bosome	I2r, 9-10	ADD	While the resulting construct of 'fly me like a serpent' changes Lady Troublesome's line from a direct address to Lord Troublesome 'doe not flea me' to a statement of observation that is less easily accessed by the modern reader, the combination of the dropping of the 'not' and the changing of 'flea' to 'fly' suggest that this is more than just a case of eye skip. The phrase 'like filth or durt' may have been the impetus to try and clarify the line by trying to link the phrase directly to the Lord, even if it is not nec. a success to the modern reader. **(clarification)**
WGIG	Petter, 5.3.72	Q3	Nuc. ... I must needs eat some of your new court-water-gruell, to qualifie **my my** inuention.	Q4	Nuc. ... I must needs eat some of your new court-water-gruell, to qualifie **my** inuention.	I2v, 29-30	ADD	Only edition to make this correction of what reads as an arbitrary **repetition**. Q4's change accepted by Petter.
WGIG	Petter, 5.3.81	Q3	**Enter** Nucome.	Q4	**Exit** Nucome.	I3r, 4	SD	Q4 most likely back on Q3 as copytext, corrects this SD (Nucome is clearly on stage and has just completed a speech.)
WGIG	Petter, 5.5.29	Q3	Wag. **Mosse** willingly good good Maister Correction.	Q4	Wag. **Most** willingly good good Master Correction.	I4r, 19	VS	A **clarification** or **modernisation** of the word.

Play	Line	O Ed	O Variant	E Ed	E Variant	E Location (sig & ln)	Type	Notes
WGIG	Petter, 5.6.73	Q3	M.C. (Master Correction) Ergo, your Fooles **makes** the best Lawyers.	Q4	M.C. ...Ergo, your Fooles **make** the best Lawyers.	I4v, 26	VSCm	**Grammar** correction of Q3's faulty subj/verb agreement.
WGIG	Petter, 5.6.130	Q3	Not in Q3	Q4	**Wag**. Well sir then, till then Farewell.	K4v, 13	SP	Q4 inserts missing SP from Q3 but is included in Q1 (Petter accepts the presence of this SP no doubt because otherwise two separate speeches in a row are spoken by Master Correction with no interjection). Because it is pretty clear who should be speaking this line/ and it is presented typographically as a separate speech, there is no reason to suspect that this came from a reference to Q1 but was probably another example of the annotating reader restoring omissions in the copytext.
WGIG	Petter, 5.7.18	Q3	Nan. Faith I weare my cloathes as your Gallants weare / their wits, the **bests** side inwards...	Q4	Nan. Faith I weare my cloathes as your Gallants weare their wits, the **best** side inwards...	K2r, 1-2	VSCm	Corrects 'best' to the proper case. **(grammar)** Restores Q1 reading accepted by Petter.
WGIG	Petter, 5.7.26	Q3	Na. Tut hang fashion, I loue it in nothing **but in my** cloa / thes.	Q4	Nan. Tut hang fashion, I loue it in nothing **but my** cloa / thes.	K2r, 10	ADD	Dropping Q3's 'in' smoothes out the line and restores the Q1 reading accepted by Petter. Because there are no obvious typographically consequences to dropping the word (the line still requires the partial turn-up of 'cloathes') this could be either a reference back to Q1 or a good inference on the part of the Q4 editor.
WGIG	Petter, 5.8.17	Q3	[Old Lord Nonsuch] ... I thanke you for your Homilie too day; but **it** you haue a faulte	Q4	[Old Lord Nonsuch] O Sir Iohn, Sir Iohn, I thanke you for your Homilie today; but **yet** you haue a fault Sir John	K3r, 19-20	Vw	This original Q4 change is accepted by Petter in his edition as a clearer reading than the use of 'it' in Q1-Q3. **(clarification, grammar)**